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Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO

Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.

Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to make this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This must be made known to the whole nation.

Go all out, aim high, and build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

To study the development of this old culture, to reject its feudal dross and assimilate its democratic essence is a necessary condition for developing our new national culture and increasing our national self-confidence, but we should never swallow anything and everything uncritically. It is imperative to separate the fine old culture of the people which had a more or less democratic and revolutionary character from all the decadence of the old feudal ruling class.

Lu Hsün was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness; this quality is invaluable among colonial and semi-colonial people. Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsün breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history. The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture.

* * *

Lu Hsün on "Water Margin"

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Aug. 28, 1975)

The book "Water Margin" makes it quite clear that because they were not against the emperor, when massive government troops arrived they accepted the offer of amnesty and enlistment and set off to fight other brigands for the state--brigands who did not "carry out Heaven's wish." They were lackeys after all.

("Evolution of Rascals, Collection on 3 Leisures," "Complete Works of Lu Hsün," Vol. IV, p. 123)

* * *

Attach Importance to Criticism of and Discussion on "Water Margin"

- Comment -

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Aug. 28, 1975)

In order to carry out discussions on and criticism of "Water Margin," this journal carries in the current issue Lu Hsün's comment on the novel in hopes of drawing everybody's serious attention to this question.

Lu Hsün's comment on "Water Margin" is a good one. He pointed out: "The book 'Water Margin' makes it quite clear that because they were not against the emperor, when massive government troops arrived they accepted the offer of amnesty and enlistment and set off to fight other brigands for the state--brigands who did not 'carry out Heaven's wish.' They were lackeys after all." This comment is entirely correct. It points out that the essence of "Water Margin" is "to accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment," namely surrendering. The reason is that it opposes corrupt officials, but not the emperor. From the Marxist viewpoint, the merit of "Water Margin" precisely lies in the portrayal of the entire process of capitulation and in singing the praises of the capitulationist line, so that it may serve as a significant teaching material by negative example.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In dealing with literary and art works of the past, the proletariat must likewise first examine their attitudes toward the people and whether they have any progressive significance in history before adopting different attitudes toward these works." How does "Water Margin" treat Ch'ao Kai, founder of the revolutionary cause of the Liangshan Mountain peasant uprising, and Sung Chiang, a renegade from this peasant uprising? It makes every effort to eulogize Sung Chiang but excludes Ch'ao Kai from the 108 people. All this is aimed at promoting capitulation. After Ch'ao Kai's death, Sung Chiang usurped the leadership of the Liangshan Mountain peasant revolution, and the first thing he did was to change Chü-i T'ing /Chamber of Assembly for Justice/ to Chung-i T'ang / Hall of Loyalty and Justice/, forcing through a capitulationist line in winning the "offer of amnesty and enlistment." The "revision" of Ch'ao Kai's line of uprising by Sung Chiang is a betrayal of the peasant revolution, and in this sense, it is also practicing revisionism. But "Water Margin" precisely affirms and extols Sung Chiang's revisionism. Of course, where there is capitulation, there is struggle against it. Li K'uei, Wu Yung and the three Juan brothers,unwilling to surrender,and instead persisted in the stand of the peasant revolution. However, since leadership was held in Sung Chiang's hands, this peasant insurgent force finally accepted the "offer of amnesty and enlistment" and set off to fight Fang La, acting as an accomplice of the reactionary ruling class in suppressing other uprising forces. Sung Chiang's counter-revolutionary road proves that whoever practices revisionism is bound to become a capitulationist, sell out the revolution, and fill the role of lackey of reactionaries. Such is the characteristic of all revisionists. Pushing a revisionist line, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao practiced class capitulationism at home and national capitulationism abroad. In Sung Chiang, a

capitulationist of ancient times, we can see the ugly features of the modern capitulationists.

Applying the Marxist viewpoint to class analysis, one can see that the struggle between Sung Chiang and Kao Ch'iu depicted in "Water Margin" was in essence a struggle of one faction against another within the landlord class. As the representative of one faction within the landlord class, Sung Chiang did not oppose the emperor, the supreme representative of the landlord class interests, and he opposed corrupt officials simply because he wanted to show his loyalty to the emperor, to maintain the reactionary feudal rule and to win a position within the ruling class. To recognize this class essence of Sung Chiang is of vital significance for us in seeing through the deceptive and dangerous nature of revisionism. Why did Sung Chiang play a role that Kao Ch'iu could not play? Why did Kao Ch'iu's brutal suppression fail to wreck the Liangshan Mountain peasant uprising force, while Sung Chiang's capitulationist line could quickly disintegrate it? This is because Sung Chiang, who wormed his way into the peasant revolutionary ranks, used his "struggle" with Kao Ch'iu to cover up the fact that both of them belonged to the landlord class, that the contradiction between them was merely one between one faction and another within the landlord class. In this way, Sung Chiang was given the opportunity to make his capitulationist line succeed. Although Li K'uei did not die a martyr's death under Kao Ch'iu's butcher knife, due to his lack of a class-analysis viewpoint he let himself be killed by Sung Chiang with poisoned wine. This painful lesson deserves to be remembered forever by the revolutionary people.

Prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution, there had been a great deal of criticism of and discussion on "Water Margin," but almost all of it ran counter to Lu Hsün's comment. Quite a number of articles embellished, even eulogized, Sung Chiang's capitulationist line affirmed in "Water Margin." One of the basic points of discussion was to describe Sung Chiang's capitulationism as a manifestation of the "limitation of the peasantry." So, capitulationists became heroes, peasant uprisings necessarily led to capitulation, and the sharp antagonism between the peasantry and the landlord class and the principled struggle between perseverance in the line of peasant uprising and implementation of the capitulationist line were all obliterated. Let us ask: How can defeat after unyielding struggle be equated with Sung Chiang's capitulation designed to seek "official appointment and promotion" for himself? Peasant uprisings in history often failed because at that time there were no new productive forces, no new relations of production, no new class forces, and no advanced political parties. But capitulation was absolutely not the natural result. To describe Sung Chiang's capitulationism as a manifestation of the "limitation of the peasantry" is, in essence, to preach the theory of class reconciliation, and this must be discussed and clarified.

Here, it is highly necessary for us to study again Chairman Mao's criticism of the film "The Story of Wu Hsün" in the early years after the founding of the People's Republic. Chairman Mao said: People like Wu Hsün "do everything they can to be servile and obsequious to the

reactionary feudal rulers. Does such an ugly behavior deserve our praise?" He also pointed out: "In the view of many writers, history has developed not by the replacement of the old by the new, but by the exertion of every effort to preserve the old from extinction, nor by class struggle to overthrow the reactionary feudal rulers who ought to be overthrown, but by the negation of class struggle by the oppressed people and their submission to these rulers, in the manner of Wu Hsün." This incisive analysis by Chairman Mao is entirely applicable to us today in unfolding discussion on and criticism of "Water Margin" and in eradicating the pernicious influence of the theory of class reconciliation in the study of this novel. Sung Chiang in "Water Margin" and Wu Hsün in "The Story of Wu Hsün" are jackals of the same lair. Praising the renegade Sung Chiang and praising the lackey Wu Hsün are matters of the same nature. We must use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a weapon to fully develop the criticism of this work "Water Margin" and bring into full play its role as a teaching material by negative example so that all people will see the true features of capitulationists and learn to look at problems from the viewpoint of class analysis. This is of tremendous significance not only to the study of classic literature and to the whole of literary and art criticism and discussion and literary and art work, but to the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people in implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, persisting in Marxism, opposing revisionism, adhering to the socialist road, opposing the capitalist road, strengthening revolutionary unity and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at present and in the future.

* * *

Let All People Know the Capitulationists

-- Study Lu Hsün's comment on "Water Margin"

by

Fang Yen-liang (方岩梁)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Aug. 28, 1975)

What kind of book is "Water Margin"? Is it a good work in praise of a peasant uprising or a teaching material by negative example preaching capitulationism? Is Sung Chiang a revolutionary or a capitulationist? These are major questions of principle. In his article "Evolution of Rascals" published as early as January 1930, Lu Hsün, after analyzing the remark " They were against evil officials, not the emperor" in "Water Margin," made the following profound comment:

> The book "Water Margin" makes it quite clear that because they were not against the emperor, when massive government troops arrived they accepted the offer of amnesty and enlistment and set off to fight other brigands for the state--brigands who did not "carry out Heaven's wish." They were lackeys after all.

This incisive comment hit the nail on the head when it pointed out the essence of "Water Margin" in advocating the capitulationist line and revealed the true features of capitulationists like Sung Chiang who hoist the banner of "carry out Heaven's wish." Opposing corrupt officials but not the emperor, "Water Margin" even extols that decadent Sung Hui Tsung as "the most sacred and wisest" Son of Heaven, saying that he "seeks men of virtue," "loves the people," and "is generous in the relief of the masses." The bad people were only a few "evil officials" such as Kao Ch'iu. The book "Water Margin" was crowned with the two words: "Chung I" /loyalty and justice/. To whom was it loyal? Naturally, it could only be loyal to the emperor and the royal court. Even on the eve of his death, Sung Chiang stated over and over again: "In all my life, I have only stood for the two words Chung I, and have never betrayed my conscience in any way..... I would rather have the court let me down than be disloyal to the court!"

Some people object to describing Sung Chiang as a capitulationist and a "lackey after all." In their opinion, Sung Chiang was an "extremely outstanding leader" of the peasant uprising as he represented the will and wishes of the entire peasant class, and even his capitulation reflected the historical limitations of peasant uprisings. Which is correct-- Lu Hsün's comment or the viewpoint of these people? First of all, let us first see where this character, Sung Chiang, "stood out."

In judging a man by which class he represents, we should not merely look at his origin and occupation, but should look at his thinking and conduct as to the interests and aspirations of which class he represents and what kind of political line he is carrying out. Before Sung Chiang went

to the Liangshan Mountain, he confided to Wu Sung, who was going to the Two Dragon Mountain: "Brother, you must care for your own future,.... If you receive imperial pardon, you may incite Lu Chih-shen and Yang Chih to surrender. Later, when you go to the border to fight for your country with a lance or sword, you will gain glory for yourselves and honor to leave to your posterity. Your name will be recorded in the annals. You will not have spent your life in vain." These words are a self-exposure of Sung Chiang's ugly soul. The aim of his lifelong struggle was to "incite" the peasant insurgent forces to surrender and to lead them into the slaughterhouse of the landlord class. At the same time, climbing on the corpses of the peasant insurgents, he was seeking public office and fortune, to gain glory for himself and honor to leave to his posterity. He took the trouble to urge Wu Sung to do just that. Therefore, the moment he went to the Liangshan Mountain, he formed a gang to pursue his private interests, eliminated his opponents, and usurped the leadership of the Liangshan Mountain insurgent army, substituting his capitulationist line for Ch'ao Kai's line of persisting in peasant uprisings. He changed Chao's Chü-i T'ing to Chung-i T'ang, and the difference in one word reflected the different world outlooks of two opposing classes--the peasants and the landlords. "Chü-i" means uprising and revolution; "Chung-i" means accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment and surrender. Does this not clearly reflect the opposition between two lines?

Sung Chiang hoists the banner "carrying out Heaven's wish." "Heaven" in his mind is the emperor and the court, and the "wish" he enforced is the wish of Confucius and Mencius, that is, to help the Sung imperial court to disintegrate and suppress the peasant uprisings so as to consolidate the reactionary rule of the landlord class. He kept talking about "protecting the country and letting the people live in peace": "Protecting the country" means protecting the reactionary regime of the landlord class; "letting the people live in peace" means letting himself as well as others become lackeys. On that day of "Ta Chü I" /grand gathering of justice/, Sung Chiang was so happy that he wrote a poem "Man Chiang Hung" /The Whole River Is Red/ and ordered Lo Ho to read it alone: "May the King of Heaven send down his decree, making an early offer of amnesty and enlistment to satisfy our hearts." This led to a wave of opposition in the stockades. But it did not in the least shake Sung Chiang's counter-revolutionary determination to "seek amnesty and enlistment, make amends, and become subjects of the state." The moment he surrendered, he led the big army to fight Fang La--brigands who did not "carry out Heaven's wish." Didn't this show clearly the class whose will and wishes he represented? Sung Chiang was a running dog of emperors, kings, ministers and generals and of the landlord class as a whole. "Water Margin" went all out to embellish and extol such a running dog, lauding him for acquiring loyalty, filial piety, benevolence and righteousness. Such eulogy precisely proves that it is a teaching material by negative example advocating capitulationism.

In "Evolution of Rascals," Lu Hsün traced the origin of this, pointing out that from books on Confucian knights of the Confucius-Mo Tzu schools to "Water Margin" all the way down to "Cases of Judge Shih," "Cases of Judge P'eng" and "Seven Knights and Five Brigands" of the

Ch'ing dynasty, all were in the same vein. In "Historical Evolution of Chinese Novels," Lu Hsün also stated: Knights in such novels as "Seven Knights and Five Brigands" were "much like the characters in "Water Margin," and although the stories were based on "Cases of Judge Lung T'u" they still flowed from "Water Margin." As a matter of fact, Sung Chiang was the same type of man as Huang San-t'ai, Huang T'ien-pa, Chan Ch'ao and the like; to put it bluntly, they were nothing but lackeys, running dogs and body-guards of emperors or so-called "good officials."

If we further compare Sung Chiang with Kao Ch'iu, we can see more clearly that they had many things in common. They were "loafers of some sort." Both had wanted to become officials and get rich, and both had been banished. In the final analysis, they belonged to the same class. But was there any difference between them? Yes, there was. Kao Ch'iu was the lucky one. Because of his skill in kicking the ball, he attracted the attention of "Chiu Ta Wang," that is, the later Emperor Hui Tsung, and "rose" early and became an official. But Sung Chiang, in his own words, "did not have a chance in all these years" and became a "brigand." In fact, these two men came to the same destination from different directions. Sung Chiang turned to "brigandism" from being an official, was granted the amnesty and enlistment and became an official again. As for Kao Ch'iu, he became an official overnight. Because of a so-called "seditious poem" Sung Chiang wrote in Hsünyang Inn, some people think he really wanted to rebel. In fact, he was simply grunting when he had "gained neither fame nor an official post but had been tattoed on the face." "In youth I learned the classics; in manhood I knew wiles. A tiger on a barren hill am I, claws drawn, teeth hid." Was this not an excellent self-description of the mood of an ambitious careerist who "does not have the opportunity to use his talent"? In Sung Chiang's opinion, seizing the opportunity to "rebel" might be said to be a shortcut to success when one was driven into a dead corner. "To become an official, one may first kill and burn to invite the offer of amnesty and enlistment." Lu Hsün said: "This was a conclusion drawn by the common people in those days after extracting the essence of the royal government." The struggle between Sung Chiang and Kao Ch'iu was not in any sense a struggle between the reformers and the diehards; it was only a struggle of one faction against another among the reactionaries of the landlord class. But no matter how they struggled against each other they were jackals of the same lair. As far as undermining the peasant revolutionary movement and consolidating the landlord class' reactionary rule are concerned, Sung Chiang actually played a far greater role and was far more deceptive than Kao Ch'iu.

Isn't Sung Chiang nicknamed "Welcome Rain?" To which class did he come as a "welcome rain"? "Water Margin" lauded the years of Sung Hui Tsung as years in which "The state is rich and the people live in peace; people of all walks of life enjoy their occupations." Actually, they were years in which great chaos occurred under heaven, the people suffered a lot, the flames of peasant uprisings spread across the land, and the edifice of Northern Sung was tottering. Chao Chi /Hui Tsung/ was so worried that in his "Juisze palace," his study, he wrote on a white screen the names of the "four big brigands." But the result was that Sung Chiang, one of the "four big brigands," not only surrendered to him but also helped him suppress the other three peasant insurgent armies. Wasn't this a genuine "welcome rain" to the

Northern Sung Dynasty and to Chao Chi? In history, whenever class contradictions became more acute and the reactionary rule of the exploiting class was threatened, the reactionary class always had special need of such 'welcome rain' as Sung Chiang to put out the flames of peasant uprisings. That is why "Water Margin" and the image of Sung Chiang are particularly liked by the landlord and capitalist classes and by revisionists .

Chin Sheng-t'an cut off more than 20 chapters from "Water Margin", stressing that "chief brigands" like Sung Chiang must all be eliminated and should never be granted amnesty and enlistment. Lu Hsün, extremely dissatisfied with Chin, wrote an article "On Chin Sheng-t'an" to criticize him, saying: "Merely cutting off a small portion of the latter part of 'Water Margin' and dreaming of a 'Ch'i Shu-yeh' to finish off all Sung Chiangs shows one's ignorance and stupidity." Chin's "ignorance and stupidity" lay, first, in his failure to understand that the insurgent peasants could not be all eliminated any more than wild fire could be extinguished; put it out, and it would revive with the spring breeze. Even a hundred "Ch'i Shu-yehs," let alone one, would be useless. Chin's "ignorance and stupidity" also lay in his failure to see the real intentions of Shih Nai-an and Lo Kuan-chung in writing "Water Margin." It was precisely because they took the same class stand as Chin in opposing peasant uprisings that they projected and lauded the image of Sung Chiang as a capitulationist. They knew that a fortress could be taken most easily from within. However, Chin did not understand this. He did not realize that Sung Chiang and the like were not "chief brigands" but were faithful agents of the landlord class. Lu Hsün also vividly likened the abridged version of "Water Margin" to "a dragonfly with its tail cut off." Sung Chiang's surrender, his acceptance of the offer of amnesty and enlistment, and his setting off to fight Fang La were no more than the inevitable outcome of his capitulationist line. With a part cut off, the features of Sung Chiang as a capitulationist could not be truly revealed. Chin's abridgement leaves out Sung Chiang's many criminal acts and ugly performances and therefore is quite welcome by many of those who sing the praises of Sung Chiang.

There is a strict distinction between the brigands who "carry out Heaven's wish" and those who do not. Lu Hsün made it clear that the former are out-and-out capitulationists and the latter rebelling peasants who oppose exploitation, oppression and slavery. This is as clear as black and white, and there can be no mistake in confusing them. In fact, the Liangshan Mountain insurgent army was also divided into two. The greater part of it was made up of bankrupt peasants and handicraftsmen. There were also quite a number of youngsters from beggared families of the landlord class and officers and men of the reactionary army. As Sung Chiang politically practiced the capitulationist line and organizationally recruited deserters and accepted mutineers, he dragged in a large group of high-ranking generals of the Sung Dynasty. As a result, a change occurred in the class composition of the leadership group of this insurgent army. Among the 108 leaders, Li K'uei, Wu Yung, Juan the Second, Juan the Fifth and Juan the Seventh were good and unwilling to surrender. Wu Yung and the three Juan brothers were the among first to follow Ch'ao Kai

to rebel. Li K'uei, in particular, was one of the bravest and most resolute fighters of the Liangshan Mountain insurgent army. When he heard Lo Ho read the poem "Man Chiang Hung" composed by Sung Chiang, he raised his eye-brows and shouted: "Amnesty and enlistment? To hell with them!" He kicked a table, which fell to pieces. Basically, he did not take the Sung Emperor seriously, and he wanted to rebel if Sung Chiang didn't. When the royal chief military aide, Ch'en Tsung-shan, arrived at the mountain stockade to deliver the imperial edict offering amnesty and enlistment, Li K'uei not only seized the paper and tore it into pieces, but also grabed Ch'en by the chest and beat him up. Toward the end of the novel, upon hearing that the imperial court had medicinal wine delivered to them, he yelled: "Let's rebel!" That was why this "Black Whirlwind" /Nickname of Li K'uei/ worried Sung Chiang most, and that was why Sung Chiang was determined to put him to death. He had the most sinister motive. The struggle between Sung Chiang who advocated capitulation and Li K'uei and others who opposed capitulation was one between two big classes, the landlord class and the peasantry, and between two lines, the capitulationist line and the line of persisting in uprisings.

Those who defend Sung Chiang also bring out the word "I" as a shield, as if Sung Chiang were extremely loyal to all others and treated them as brothers. "All within the four seas are brothers," and are there any distinctions as to class, the line, the capitulationists or revolutionaries? Lu Hsün punctured the hypocrisy of this slogan circulating in "Water Margin" with one sentence: "People on the Liangshan Mountain did not treat all people as brothers." The fact is precisely so. On the Liangshan Mountain, let alone the four seas, the relationship was not one of brothers but one of classes. The opposition and struggle between the two big classes, the landlord class and the peasantry, were bound to be reflected within the Liangshan Mountain insurgent army. Sung Chiang kept on talking about "Chung" and "I". He was indeed loyal to the higher authorities, but did he treat all men under him as brothers? Chapter 83, "Tearfully Executing a Small Private at Ch'ench'iao Station", fully exposes the hyprocrisy of Sung Chiang's "I." When the farce of amnesty and enlistment had barely ended, a colonel of the insurgent army, out of righteous indignation, killed a government garrison soldier who insulted the insurgent army. This so frightened Sung Chiang that he wanted to chop off the head of this colonel at once and go to the court to ask for pardon. However, he still had to consider "loyalty to friends." So, resorting to the technique of the cat crying over the dead mouse, he began "crying", and asked that colonel to "drink to his heart's content" and then hang himself. Then his head would be cut off and shown to all. The head was cut off, and "I" was fulfilled. A class analysis must be made of the content of "I". Ch'ao Kai's "Chü-i" means to get united to rebel against the reactionary rule of the landlord class; Sung Chiang's "I" means to use "I" to cover up class antagonism and reconcile class and line struggles so that the oppressed class would meekly serve as a slave of the reactionary ruling class. Was there anything more suited to the needs of the reactionary ruling class than Sung Chiang's "I"? Li K'uei's tragedy was that he suffered from such "loyalty to friends." Blinded by this "loyalty to friends," he saw only his "elder brother" and not the line, was unable to discern Sung Chiang's real reactionary features, and finally became a sacrifice to Sung Chiang's capitulationist line. What a painful lesson!

Lu Hsün, as a militant Marxist, inveterately detested such capitulationists as Sung Chiang who perpetrated counter-revolutionary acts while taking the posture of revolutionaries. Particularly when he witnessed the 1927 "April 12" counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, in the midst of bloodshed, he saw not only the staunchness and integrity of real revolutionaries but also the ghastly faces of capitulationists of all descriptions. Of the latter, one type of men were those who "accepted amnesty and enlistment when massive government troops arrived" and helped the reactionaries to butcher the revolutionary people; another type of men were those who always wore cloaks of revolutionaries but encircled and suppressed the real revolutionaries. Didn't Lu Hsün in writing the article "Evolution of Rascals" intend to call on the masses of people to remain alert against such capitulationists as Sung Chiang?

As a Marxist class theorist, Lu Hsün persisted in dissecting "Water Margin" with the Marxist class viewpoint and method of class analysis, and compared the current class struggle with the past class struggles. That is why he was able to understand this novel so thoroughly and analyze it so incisively and penetratingly. We should seriously study Lu Hsün's comment on "Water Margin," enhance our ability to discern revisionism and capitulationism, and unceasingly strive to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

Teaching Material by Negative Example Advertising Capitulationism

- Comment on "Water Margin"

by

the Mass Criticism Group of the Peking and Tsinghua Universities

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Aug. 28, 1975)

The book "Water Margin" is against corrupt officials only, but not against the emperor, and finally accepts the offer of amnesty and enlistment. It is neither "an epic of the peasant revolution" nor "a textbook on peasant uprisings" but a teaching material by negative example advertising capitulationism. Its essence is surrender and its merit lies precisely in letting people know what capitulationists look like.

Although "Water Margin" takes peasant uprisings as its subject matter, it basically distorts the revolutionary struggle of the peasants. The author did his best to project and prettify the Liangshan leader Sung Chiang in order to attain his aim of trumpeting capitulation and opposing revolution. Sung Chiang was not a representative of the peasant interests but a character representing the landlord class who wormed his way into the revolutionary ranks. Is it "justified" or "a crime" to "rebel" against the reactionary rule of the landlord class. Should they overthrow the feudal monarchy represented by the Sung Emperor or "carry out Heaven's wish," "achieve loyalty and justice" and maintain the feudal monarchy's reactionary rule? Should they persevere in struggle and die rather than submit or accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment and become lackeys in order to become officials and get rich? On these major questions of principle, the true features of Sung Chiang as leader of the capitulationists and the reactionary essence of the novel in advertising the capitulationist line are fully revealed.

Over the past thousands of years, reactionary rulers of all exploiting classes have invariably made the claim that it is justified to oppress and to exploit and that it is a crime for the oppressed to rebel against the reactionaries. Sung Chiang in "Water Margin" sings exactly the same tune as all reactionaries. When Ch'ao Kai, Wu Yung, the three Juan brothers and the others got together (Chü-i) to map out an uprising and "seize the birthday presents" to recapture the fruit of blood and sweat extracted from the toiling people by the feudal rulers, Sung Chiang took the stand of the landlord class and berated such a revolutionary action as "a crime against Heaven." When Ch'ao Kai and the others rose against the armed suppression by the feudal imperial court and battered the government troops to smithereens, Sung Chiang again thought that this was "a crime punishable by the extermination of entire families" and "was inexcusable before the law." When Ch'ao Kai and the others went to the Liangshan Mountain and took the revolutionary road against the feudal regime, Sung Chiang was extremely horrified, thinking that

they "have gone too far." In short, in the opinion of Sung Chiang, all revolutionary actions by the peasantry were lawless and a mess.

In Sung Chiang's view, to rise in rebellion and go to the mountains is both "in defiance of the rule of Heaven and the admonishment of one's parent. Therefore, one who does this is neither loyal nor filial." When he had to seek refuge outside, the only places he thought he could settle himself were the quarters of the aristocrat Ch'ai Chin, the barracks of Hua Jung, and the plantation of the landlord K'ung Ming. The last thing he wanted to do was to join Ch'ao Kai. Even when he gave himself up and was branded and banished to Chiangchow, he would rather be a prisoner than go to the Liangshan Mountain. When he was sentenced to die on charges of treason because of his "seditious poem" which gave expression to his disappointment at "his failure to gain fame or an official position," the Liangshan heroes rescued him from the firing squad. It was under these circumstances that he saw no choice but to go to the mountains. But "the marshland is but a temporary haven for me. My only hope is to receive an amnesty from the imperial court." This shows that he was only "forced to lodge for a time in a tiger's lair."

"Ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression by the landlord class compelled the peasants many times to stage uprisings against the rule of the landlord class." ("The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party") The line pursued by Ch'ao Kai on the Liangshan Mountain was precisely one of resisting feudal rule and developing the peasant revolution. They "build up a grain stock, repair the stockades, and manufacture arms," "build large and small boats and train men to fight on land and on the water." Vowing to fight the feudal rulers to the end, they were prepared at all time to "take on the invading government troops." Under Ch'ao Kai's leadership, some ordinary leaders on the Liangshan Mountain also had the revolutionary idea of resisting the feudal monarchy and opposing the emperor. When Chu Kuei caught Tai Tsung in the Liangshan Inn, he opened a letter carried by the latter from the magistrate of Chiuchiang to the Royal Tutor Ts'ai Ching. Tai Tsung denounced him, saying: "Don't you know the punishment when you open a letter addressed to the Royal Tutor?" Chu, laughing with scorn, said: "Here we are the sworn enemy of the Sung Emperor himself, let alone tearing open a letter for the Royal Tutor!"

The author of the book "Water Margin" was hostile to Ch'ao Kai's revolutionary line. To meet the need of preaching the capitulationist line, he not only sent Sung Chiang to the Liangshan Mountain but deliberately had Ch'ao Kai killed by an arrow. Originally in Kung K'ai's "In Praise of 36 People Including Sung Chiang" and "Anecdotes of the Sung Hsuanho Period," Ch'ao Kai was included among the 36 people. But in "Water Margin," the author excluded Ch'ao Kai from the 108 people. Whether among the 36 "invincibles of Heaven" or the 72 "invincible of Earth," there was no position for Ch'ao Kai. The author of "Water Margin" wrote: "Ch'ao Kai, who aspired to be a king, died early; Sung Chiang, who rallied the masses to safeguard justice, became the head of the stockade." It is clear that Ch'ao Kai held the imperial authority in contempt and resisted the feudal court, so he "died early," while Sung Chiang, "loyal to his country,"

was able to lead the Liangshan Mountain insurgent army to surrender, so he became "head of the stockade."

Sung Chiang was now the No. 1 leader. Despite the fact that Ch'ao's altar was set up in the front hall and flowers were placed on it and the tablet carried the words, "The Great Lord Ch'ao, King of Heaven, Master of Liangshan Mountain," the Chü-i T'ing had been changed to Chung-i T'ang and Chao's line had been completely revised. Since then, "carrying out Heaven's wish" formally became Sung Chiang's slogan in vigorously practicing revisionism and capitulationism on the Liangshan Mountain. What kind of stuff was this slogan--"carrying out Heaven's wish?" When Sung Chiang first arrived at Liangshan, the author had already admonished him through the mouth of the Goddess of Ninth Heaven--"You must carry out Heaven's wish, be a loyal and just subject, help your country and bring peace to the people. You must leave false ways and come back to the true." As can be seen, to "carry out Heaven's wish" means to recognize the supreme power of the feudal monarch, to safeguard and consolidate the feudal order of the supreme ruler, to abolish the class struggle waged by the peasants against the landlord class, and to lead the peasant uprisings to the orbit of the landlord class.

When the line changes, the nature of political power will also change. With power in the hands of Sung Chiang, chieftain of the capitulationist line in Liangshan, it meant that the revolutionary regime of the peasant class became one serving the interests of the landlord class. Adopting both soft and tough measures, Sung Chiang used double-dealing counter-revolutionary tactics to suppress the revolutionaries. He frequently said to others that "friendship is most important" and "we must trust each other until death." However, this was actually a weapon in his hands capable of killing without bloodshed, designed to make everyone follow his baton. He was ruthless toward anyone who treated the emperor of the Sung Dynasty with contempt, who persisted in carrying the cause of peasant uprisings through to the end, and who opposed capitulation. When Li K'uei opposed acceptance of the offer of amnesty and enlistment, Sung Chiang wanted to have him executed immediately, but desisted from doing so only when everyone else pleaded with him not to do this. But he told Li Kuei: "If you make a mistake again, I won't forgive you." But he was obsequious toward inspectors and envoys from the court and even reactionary generals who came to "attack and suppress." Frequently he would "knock his head upon the ground" before them, saying, "I deserve death." Isn't it clear whom Sung Chiang loved and whom he hated, which class interests he represented, and which class dictatorship he wanted to exercise?

"It is double joy to meet Su, and it is not a bad omen to meet Kao." This was a "gospel" given by the Goddess of Ninth Heaven to Sung Chiang. This means that double fortune will be bestowed on you when you meet the "loyal minister" Su Yüan-ching, and that even if you meet the "evil minister" Kao Ch'iu, disaster will not befall you. The contradiction between Sung Chiang and Kao Ch'iu was one within the landlord class, and the struggle between them was one between one faction and another within the landlord class. On the face of it, Sung Chiang had also fought against government troops of the Northern Sung Dynasty on a number

of occasions, had led his men to attack Kaotangchou, Huayin County and Tamingfu, and had resisted a series of "expeditionary campaigns" launched by Kao Ch'iu and Tung Kuan. But, in doing all this, he was merely against a group of "evil men" represented by Kao Ch'iu, and basically did not touch the economic base and the superstructure of feudal rule. As Sung Chiang and his gang admitted: "While we hoist the banner 'carry out Heaven's wish' and set up a 'Chung-i' Hall, we dare not attack and occupy cities and counties, and would not do anything to harm the innocent people. We kill only the corrupt officials and rumor-mongers. Our only hope is to be granted amnesty and enlistment early, so that we may render our service to the State." As a result, one battle after another was fought, but the base of Liangshan was not expanded a bit. How could Sung Chiang, who wanted all along to become a lackey, have the intention to topple the throne of the Sung Dynasty.

Although Sung Chiang was on the Liangshan Mountain, his heart was with the imperial court. He was dreaming of falling into the arms of the feudal rulers, riding roughshod over the people, becoming an official and amassing a fortune, and gaining honor to leave it to his posterity. In order to achieve this dirty goal, he made use of the power he usurped to create public opinion in favor of surrender on a large scale. In an oath-taking ceremony attended by 108 people each of whom had to put a pint of his blood in a cup as a sign of solidarity, he said: "Let's all bear loyalty and justice in our hearts and perform merits for the state together." Then, at a chrysanthemum banquet he openly declared: "May the King of Heaven sends down his decree, making an offer of amnesty and enlistment to satisfy our hearts." On many different occasions he went out to peddle a set of reactionary ideas such as "loyalty and filial piety." "benevolence, righteousness, propriety, intelligence, and trustworthiness," and the "theory of Heavenly will" in a vain attempt to use the rope of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to shackle the minds of the Liangshan insurgent forces and bind them hand and foot.

While vigorously creating counter-revolutionary public opinion, Sung Chiang tried by all possible means to recruit deserters and turncoats. He even went so far as to invite men of wealth, generals and officials who were extremely hostile to the peasant uprisings to come to the mountain so as to expand the influence of the capitulationists. Lu Chün-i was one of the typical cases. When this man of wealth in Tamingfu was passing through the Liangshan Mountain, he prepared a bag of ropes and arrogantly declared that he would singlehandedly capture all the heroes on the liangshan Mountain. And when he was taken prisoner, he adamantly refused "to join the partnership." But Sung Chiang thought that this utterly reactionary fellow had "the look of a distinguished man," being "born into a rich family," so he not only invited him to come to the mountain but also made him No. 2. From then on, Sung Chiang had an able adjunct to assist him in surrendering to the enemy in betrayal of his cause.

In order to capitulate to the Sung imperial court, Sung Chiang justified any means he used. He not only long ago established friendly relations with the so-called "loyal minister" Su Yüan-ching, but fawned upon Kao Ch'iu whom he regarded as evil, begging for amnesty and enlistment. When Kao Ch'iu was caught and taken to Liangshan, Sung Chiang,

seeing him, hurried to help him to the hall and knelt in front of him. Moreover, he held in Kao's honor a grand banquet which lasted for three days and presented him with several thousand ounces of gold before sending him off the mountain and "waiting for news of the amnesty and enlistment." Sung Chiang even slipped to Tungching himself to make contact with the courtesan Li Shih-shih. Moreover, he asked Yen Ch'ing to take the back door of Li Shih-shih in an attempt to obtain the "amnesty decree" of the emperor.

The various criminal activities of Sung Chiang in selling out the revolution aroused strong dissatisfaction and resistance among the revolutionaries. At that chrysanthemum banquet, when Sung Chiang advocated the idea of accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment in his poem "Man Chiang Hung," opposition was immediately voiced against him. Li K'uei said angrily: "Amnesty and enlistment! To hell with them!" In the several attempts by the Sung imperial court to extend the offer of amnesty and enlistment, Juan the Seventh did not disdain to sip the wine offered by the Son of Heaven, Li K'uei tore the imperial edict to pieces and heavily denounced Hui Tsung, and Wu Yung accused Sung Chiang of being too "stubborn" about the offer of amnesty and enlistment. All this shows that the failure of the Liangshan Mountain insurgent army was due to bad leadership of this peasant uprising force and that people like Li K'uei, Wu Yung and the three Juan brothers were good and unwilling to capitulate. However, the author of "Water Margin" did not support their just stand of refusing to accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment, not only repressing their resistance with Sung Chiang's "loyalty and justice" but letting these revolutionaries who opposed capitulation go along with Sung Chiang in accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment and setting off to attack Fang La, thus distorting their images. But from first to last he took the attitude of praising and sympathizing with Sung Chiang, an alien class element who sneaked into the ranks of the rebelling peasants, describing his capitulation as an act of "rejecting evil ways and returning to the right track" and his acceptance of the offer of amnesty and enlistment as "the natural and correct result."
He even described the scene of his acceptance of the offer of amnesty and enlistment as if it were a gala festival. This fully exposed the reactionary stand of the author in defending feudal rule and opposing the peasant uprisings.

After having succeeded in his betrayal, Sung Chiang set off to suppress the uprising led by Fang La, vilified the uprising peasants as "brigands" who were to be "cut into two and their hearts taken out," and ruthlessly slaughtered the revolutionary people. What a sharp contrast with his attitude toward captured government troops on the Liangshan Mountain! Lu Hsün said rightly: "The book 'Water Margin' makes it quite clear that because they were not against the emperor, when massive government troops arrived they accepted the offer of amnesty and enlistment and set off to fight other brigands for the state--brigands who did not 'carry out Heaven's wish.' They were lackeys after all." From conducting traitorous activities within the revolutionary ranks to directly filling the role as running dog of the reactionary ruling class, from practicing revisionism and capitulationism to nakedly carrying out the political line of the reactionary ruling class--the course of this change precisely reflects the common law of capitulationists.

For a long time, nearly all of the comments on "Water Margin" have run counter to Lu Hsün's thesis, prettifying and even extolling Sung Chiang's capitulationist line as affirmed in "Water Margin." One of the basic points of discussion was the so-called "historical limitations of the peasantry." It was held that peasant uprisings were only against corrupt officials, not the emperor, only against individual landlords, not the feudal regime, and that the acceptance of the offer of amnesty and enlistment was "determined by historical circumstances" and should not be regarded as an act of "selling out the revolution." This is nothing but strange talk designed to defend Sung Chiang's capitulationist line.

The Chinese nation has a glorious revolutionary tradition. In China's prolonged feudal society, the broad masses of peasants staged many uprisings. Undaunted and unyielding, they fought against ruthless economic exploitation and political suppression by the landlord class. In the Yellow Turbans uprising toward the close of Eastern Han, it was declared: "The blue heaven is gone; the yellow sky is here." Huang Ch'ao, leader of a peasant uprising during the T'ang Dynasty, called himself "the Heaven-storming great general." At the beginning of the Sung Dynasty, the uprising led by Wang Hsiao-po and Li Shun came up with the slogan: "Equalize the poor and rich." All this shows that their spearhead of struggle was directed at feudal rule. "In China's feudal society, only these peasant class struggles, peasant uprisings and peasant wars constituted the real motive force for the development of history." ("The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party") To claim that peasants in China did not oppose the emperor nor the feudal regime not only negated the revolutionary character of the peasants, but obliterated the great role of peasant uprisings in pushing history forward.

Due to the lack of new production forces, new relations of production, new class forces and advanced political parties, peasant revolutions in China's feudal society were unable to bring about a new social system, and the struggle inevitably ended in failure. However, even though they failed, they always struck at feudal rule and more or less pushed the development of the productive forces in society. On no account should we confuse such defeats with capitulation. To persist in struggle or to capitulate--these are two basically opposing lines. To persist in struggle is to persist in the anti-feudal, revolutionary stand of the peasants; to betray the cause and capitulate is to meet the needs of the landlord class in defending the reactionary rule. In "Water Margin" capitulationists with Sung Chiang as the leader peddled the renegade philosophy and instigated the peasant insurgent army to surrender to the landlord class. What did these shameful traitorous acts have to do with the "historical limitations of the peasantry"? What did those who failed after unyielding struggles and those who capitulated in order seek high public office and get rich have in common? To obliterate the distinction between the two and blur the demarcation line of principle between the peasantry and the landlord class and between the revolutionary line and the capitulationist line is to advocate wholly the theory of class reconciliation.

It is not an accident that such a theory of class reconciliation should appear from the study of "Water Margin." Like "The Inside Story of the Ch'ing Court," a film advocating national betrayal, the embellishment of the feudal lackey Wu Hsün and the eulogy of the renegade from the peasant revolution, Li Hsiu-ch'eng, it is a manifestation of a serious class struggle on the political and ideological fronts. A sinister line prevails, that is, class capitulationism and national capitulationism. "The main gist of opportunism is the idea of class cooperation." (Lenin, "The Bankruptcy of the Second International") Proceeding from the reactionary stand of the landlord and bourgeois classes, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and other representatives of the bourgeoisie who sneaked into the Party have always made use of feudal culture and historical dregs to promote national betrayal, the slave mentality and the renegade philosophy and to create public opinion for pushing a counter-revolutionary revisionist line and betraying the revolution.

"Water Margin" serves as a teaching material by negative example. Sung Chiang as a man should not be emulated. This filial son and grand-son of the landlord class and out-and-out disciple of Confucius and Mencius sneaked into the peasant insurgent ranks. Pretending to "be just and generous," "modest and congenial," he obtained by defraud the trust of the Liangshan Mountain insurgent army, engaged in criminal activities of undermining the revolutionary cause from within the fortress, and played a role that civil officials and military officers of the Sung Dynasty could not play. From this teacher by negative example, we can recognize what capitulationists look like. Therefore, to expose Sung Chiang's true features in practicing revisionism and capitulationism, to criticize the capitulationist line peddled by "Water Margin," to distinguish the revolutionary from the capitulationist line, and to enable all people to know what capitulationists look like--this is of tremendous immediate significance and far-reaching historical importance for us in adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, combating and preventing revisionism, and consolidating dictatorship of the proletariat. We must bring into full play the role of the book "Water Margin" as a teaching material by negative example!

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Comment on the Capitulationist Line of "Water Margin"

by

Chung Ku (钟 谷)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Aug. 28, 1975)

A peasant uprising led by Sung Chiang broke out in the last years of Northern Sung. Stories and legends about this uprising had been extensively circulating for about two and a half centuries. It was only in late Yuan and early Ming that Shih Nai-an and Lo Kuan-chung wrote a long-length novel "Water Margin" based on these stories and legends.

The stories of "Water Margin," in the prolonged course of circulation, were gradually mixed with reactionary ideas of the feudal ruling classes. To meet the counter-revolutionary political needs of the landlord class in suppressing peasant uprisings, by the time the long-length novel took shape, Sung Chiang had already been presented by the authors as a typical capitulationist, a representative character of the landlord class whose brains were filled with Confucian ideology. The novel praises Sung Chiang's capitulationist line--opposing only the corrupt officials and not the emperor and finally accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment. As a result of the implementation of Sung Chiang's line, the nature of the peasant armed force on the Liangshan Mountain changed and it was used by the feudal rulers as a jackal to suppress Fang La's uprising and finally ended up in the way that "the hunting dog was boiled when the rabbit had been captured." Herein was hidden the sinister conspiracy of the feudal ruling class to have the various peasant insurgent armies slaughter each other so that the "fisherman has his profit" /while the snipe and the crab are locked in a fight/ and the basic aim of suppressing the peasant uprisings could be attained. Therefore, the essence of "Water Margin" is capitulation; it is a novel designed to disintegrate the peasant uprisings through propagating the capitulationist line.

"Water Margin" deals with the entire process from the gradual development and expansion of the peasant insurgent cause on the Liangshan Mountain to accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment and heading toward defeat. An analysis of this process shows that from first to last a struggle between two lines existed. Chairman Mao points out: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." When the line is correct, the uprising's cause will develop and expand; when the line is wrong, it will perish entirely. As the peasant uprisings are faced with different tasks of struggle at different stages of development, so the focal point of the struggle between the correct and the wrong line also changes correspondingly. As in the case of "Water Margin," there are two big stages: Before the Ta Chü I, it is mainly the conflict between the correct organizational line and closed-doorism and recruitment of deserters and taking in of turncoats; after Ta Chü I, the struggle is shown in a concentrated way as a struggle between the attempt to win an offer of amnesty and enlistment and the effort to reject such an offer.

Wang Lun, the first man ever to occupy the Liangshan Mountain, was a "frustrated and rotten Confucian." Selfish, narrow-minded and jealous of talented men, he practiced closed-doorism and posed a stumbling block to the development of the uprising. Lin Ch'ung opposed him and seized his power; this was a necessary measure and just action in establishing the revolutionary base.

Then, Ch'ao Kai became the leader of the Liangshan Mountain. Carrying out a correct line and persisting in armed struggle, he developed the insurgent forces in the course of struggle. The moment he went to the mountain, he organized the strength of the insurgent army and with coordinated water-borne and land operations wiped out by a clean sweep the "invading" government troops, thereby strengthening the foothold and stabilizing the situation. Cooperating closely with Wu Yung, the three Juan brothers and others, he had grain stored, boats built, weapons manufactured, and men and horses trained in preparation for bigger battles. Then, through a number of battles--including the "small gathering of insurgents in White Dragon Temple," "three attacks against Chuchiachuang" and "the gathering of insurgents in three hills to attack Ch'ingchou," he dealt stunning blows to the corrupt officials and local gentry and landlords and brought the heroes of the uprising such as Li K'uei, Lu Chih-shen, Wu Sung and Li Chün to the stockade on Liangshan. Ch'ao Kai appointed people on merit, arranged positions on the basis of meritorious services performed, and categorically declared that the victory of the stockade "was owed to the talent and ability of all brothers." This made the insurgent army united and prosper, expand rapidly, and lay a strong foundation for the Liangshan Mountain uprising.

Ch'ao Kai originally belonged to the landlord class, but he turned against his own class and enjoyed a rather high prestige among the uprising's heroes. The collective struggle to "seize the birthday presents" was organized and led by him. After this was known by the government, he set fire to his estate, led his men to resist arrest and determinedly headed for Liangshan. As a result of his attack on corrupt officials and struggle against the feudal government, he left the landlord class camp and offered himself to the insurgent ranks of the peasants. He had the spirit of staunch struggle and was able to carry out a correct line of peasant uprising. However, the authors of "Water Margin" excluded him from the 108 people and let him be killed by an arrow, a ploy completely designed out of the reactionary political intention of advertising the capitulationist line.

After Ch'ao's death, Sung Chiang usurped the leadership position on the Liangshan Mountain. Once he came to power, he changed Chü I T'ing to Chung I T'ang, which was a clear signal of his revising Ch'ao's peasant uprising line and tampering with the nature of the peasant insurgent army.

On the question of expanding the Liangshan forces, Sung Chiang took over Ch'ao's banner "Welcome heroes from all directions to join the partnership." Yet, bringing with him his own sinister stuff, he engaged in large-scale activities to recruit deserters and accept mutineers. Sung Chiang's recruiting deserters and accepting mutineers and Wang Lun's closed-doorism were two extremes, but looked at in the context of the line,

the two were by basic nature the same, both being opposed to the correct organizational line of peasant uprisings.

Sung Chiang could not wait to play his tricks and first brought Lu Chün-i to the mountain. Lu was originally a big landlord of Tamingfu, a sworn enemy of the peasant insurgent army and was determined to see to it that "everyone dies and no one is spared" on the Liangshan Mountain. Yet Sung Chiang invited him to come to the mountain. Sung Chiang made it quite clear that he intended to let Lu lead the Liangshan heroes to "return to the fold of the imperial court." He not only picked Lu on account of the latter's high reputation and position, martial art and talent, but he even thought that Lu's appearance and manner created favorable conditions for pushing the capitulationist line. Later, on a number of occasions, when government military officers were captured, Sung Chiang "personally untied" them, and "knelt and knocked his head on the ground" before them. He took in a large group of generals who surrendered. When persuading these military officers to "join the partnership," he used more or less the same rhetoric, to the extent of declaring his capitulationist line and his readiness to accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment. These military officers had lost their troops, and if they returned to the imperial court, they would surely be punished. There was therefore no choice for them but to seek asylum on the Liangshan Mountain as an expedient measure, so that they might return to their original positions and gain promotions later on. So, waiting for the offer of amnesty and enlistment was a basic condition for their "joining the partnership."

The gathering of upper-rank characters on the Liangshan Mountain changed the proportion of class composition among the generals of the insurgent army, a final organizational preparation made by Sung Chiang for practicing capitulation. Moreover, he placed these men in important positions. Lu Chün-i became No. 2; others were mostly listed among "five tiger generals," "eight expert horse riders," etc. Abandoning Ch'ao Kai's principle of appointing people on merit, Sung Chiang arranged positions mainly on the basis of people's social status before they came to the mountain. So, the grand gathering (Ta Chü I) of the 108 generals on the Liangshan Mountain appeared on the surface to be a peak of the development of the insurgent army, while in fact it was a turning point at which Sung Chiang further pushed the capitulationist line and led the uprising cause toward failure.

Apart from the common class stand and a correct line, unity is bound to become an empty word. "People from all directions share the same ground, people of different surnames belong to the same family," whether they were "descendents of the royal family, members of rich and powerful families, people of low standing, hunters and fishermen, butchers and swordsmen, all are brothers without distinction as to rank," "they are like beads linked together," and so forth--all these phrases are nothing but deceptive talk. As Lu Hsün said: "People on the marshland do not treat all people as brothers." Class reconciliation is impossible, nor can superficial unity be sustained by the ultra-class idea of "loyalty to friends."

After Ta Chü I, whither the peasant uprising? Was it to continue to forge ahead and topple the feudal monarchy? Or, was it to win an offer of amnesty and enlistment and surrender to the feudal monarchy? The Liangshan Mountain was faced with the serious question of whether to carry the revolution through to the end or to abandon it halfway, and the attempt to win an offer of amnesty and enlistment and the effort to reject such an offer became the focal point of the two-line struggle.

Apart from ruthless armed suppression, the feudal rulers in ancient China often resorted to the method of hideous political deception to deal with peasant uprisings. During the period of Southern Sung, for instance, the feudal imperial court, owing to its own weakness, more frequently adopted the so-called tactic of "pacification" and set up such posts as "minister of pacification" to be filled by men who accepted the offer of amnesty and enlistment, so that they would suppress the peasant uprisings in the areas under their jurisdiction. The counter-revolutionary dual tactics used by the feudal ruling class to deal with the peasant uprisings often resulted in the appearance within the peasant insurgent ranks of two antagonistic lines--one accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment and the other rejecting it. This was consistent with the objective law of class struggle. Compared with armed suppression, the policy of offering amnesty and enlistment was even more favorable to the feudal monarchy. That is why "Water Margin" went all out to sing the praises of Sung Chiang's capitulationist line in winning an offer of amnesty and enlistment as it fully accorded with the counter-revolutionary needs of the feudal ruling class.

Chapter 71 of the novel is about a "chrysanthemum banquet," at which the representative characters of the two lines unfolded the first sharp, face-to-face conflict. Sung Chiang summoned all the generals before him and declared his capitulationist line: "May the King of Heaven send down his decree making an early offer of amnesty and enlistment." This was opposed by the uprising's heroes who upheld the correct line. Li K'uei angrily kicked and overturned a table and shouted: "Amnesty and enlistment! To hell with them!" Wu Sung said painfully: "To keep on talking about amnesty and enlistment cools the hearts of brothers!" Lu Chih-shen, using the analogy of a dyed robe which could not be washed white, explained that "amnesty and enlistment will not help," clearly indicating that if they were to accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment, they would disband. At the chrysanthemum banquet, Li K'uei was almost killed by Sung Chiang for his strong opposition to accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment, showing the acute and violent extent of the two-line struggle. When the banquet was over, "everyone expressed gratitude" for Sung Chiang's suggestion to accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment. As a result of the direct confrontation, the capitulationist line got the upper hand.

The concrete content of the peasant uprising line in "Water Margin" may be expressed by the slogan which Li K'uei more than once uttered: "Fight all the way to Tungching and seize the damn throne." The uprising's heroes directed the spearhead of their struggle at the supreme feudal ruler. They were determined to topple the existing monarchy and overthrow the existing emperor. This line gave full expression to the revolutionary spirit of the peasant uprisings in feudal times and to the firmness of the revolutionary peasants in their brave struggle against the class enemies.

The struggle between the two lines on the Liangshan Mountain was violent as there was a clear line of demarcation dividing the two factions. The heroes who came from the lower stratum of society or who left the feudal class were opposed to accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment; those who came from the upper stratum and who were loyal to the existing emperor and sought asylum on the Liangshan Mountain as an expediency followed Sung Chiang in taking the road of accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment. Heroes of the first category were mainly members of the toiling class who were most heavily exploited and oppressed; their poverty and inequality in real life caused them to rise up in struggle. Their strong revolutionary spirit was most precious. Characters of the latter category were quite different; they themselves were members of the feudal ruling class and had thousands of ties with the government. For different reasons they were forced to go to the mountain, but while they were in the marshland, their hearts remained with the imperial court. It was only out of their personal sufferings and grudges that they opposed certain corrupt officials and their contradiction with and struggle against certain corrupt officials were no more than contradiction and struggle between one faction or another within the landlord class.

Sung Chiang forcibly pushed his capitulationist line by relying on a large group of characters who came from the upper stratum within the insurgent ranks, making use of the position and power he usurped in the insurgent army and, in particular, taking advantage of the confidence in him of the heroes who were bound by "friendship." While energetically peddling this reactionary line, the authors of the novel also gave certain descriptions of the actions of the heroes to resist it. For instance: Li K'uei tore the imperial edict into pieces and soundly beat up the envoy Ch'en; Juan the Seventh secretly changed the imperial wine; and Li Chün and Chang Heng killed a general captured from the enemy. These might be said to be more outstanding examples. However, the authors merely put them in a secondary position. Under the gathering storm, their action to resist could not turn the tide.

In the course of pushing the capitulationist line and winning an offer of amnesty and enlistment, Sung Chiang made a dirty political deal with the feudal imperial court. Now that he intended to surrender, he naturally had to use the strength of the peasant insurgent army as his bargaining power. The three defeats of Kao Ch'iu and two defeats of Tung Kuan was, in Sung Chiang's view, a demonstration of his strength for the benefit of the emperor, so that he might bargain with the imperial court on the terms of acceptance of the offer of amnesty and enlistment. But the result was not as nice as Sung Chiang had expected. Although the imperial edict had been changed several times, the only difference was in wording between "order" and "pacification." The feudal imperial court had not made any concession, but Sung Chiang revealed his ugly feature of wagging his tail for pity.

In order to obtain an early imperial edict offering him amnesty and enlistment, Sung Chiang racked his brains and resorted to all kinds of dirty and shameless tricks, including the tactics of graft and corruption used within the landlord class and feudal officialdom. It is most disgusting to see this: he shook hands with Kao Ch'iu, drank with him and repeatedly implored him to beg the emperor for amnesty and enlistment; he sent someone to go secretly to Envoy Su, bribing him with

gold, silver and jewelry; and he even secretly slipped into the house of courtesian Li Shih-shih, mistress of the emperor, and asked her to make the contact. All of this shows that as the capitulationist line was being pushed step by step, the ugly features of Sung Chiang, this faithful lackey of the feudal rulers, were more and more glaringly exposed.

It takes time for Sung Chiang to expose himself, as it also takes time for people to understand him. When he received the imperial edict and announced to the entire insurgent army his decision to accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment, "those who left him then and there numbered 3-5 thousand." Quite a large number of men were unwilling to follow him. The 108 generals, bound by "friendship," did not break up for the time being at least. However, the vigorous and awe-inspiring atmosphere so evident in the past had gone for good. In the course of their being used by the feudal rulers to attack Fang La, over half of these 108 generals perished as "seven out of ten disappeared," and those uprising heroes who survived gradually were able to see from the bloodbath the tragedy Sung Chiang's line had created for them.

The implementation by Sung Chiang of a capitulationist line not only led to the strangulation of the Liangshan Mountain peasant insurgent cause but finally cost his own life as well. After he had exerted himself to serve the feudal rulers, he was still killed with poisoned wine offered by the emperor. Before he died, he confessed: "I would rather the court let me down than I be disloyal to the court!" Even at the time of his death he did not forget his loyalty to the emperor. As to the erection of a temple in his honor and memory, it was not merely the final spiritual consolation offered by the feudal rulers to this faithful lackey, but, what is more important, it was a new bait to prevent the shameful end of Sung Chiang from blocking the way for others to accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment.

From the description in "Water Margin" of the entire process from the development and expansion of the peasant insurgent cause to its heading for defeat, we may clearly see that while armed suppression by the feudal ruling class could not stamp out the revolutionary flames on the Liangshan Mountain, Sung Chiang's capitulationist line was able to disintegrate this spectacular peasant uprising. The line decides the success or failure and decides everything--this is a revelation derived from "Water Margin," a teaching material by negative example.

The entire content of "Water Margin" is permeated with Sung Chiang's capitulationist line and can be generalized by one sentence: They were only against corrupt officials and not the emperor and finally accepted the offer of amnesty and enlistment. As Lu Hsün in his essay "Evolution of Rascals" said: "'Water Margin' makes it quite clear that because they were not against the emperor, they accepted the offer of amnesty and enlistment when the government troops arrived and set out to fight other brigands for the state--brigands who did not 'carry out Heaven's wish.' They were lackeys after all." Because they were not against the emperor, opposition to corrupt officials as dictated by Sung Chiang's line necessarily proceeded from the reactionary political purpose of defending and consolidating the existing feudal monarchy, an act of loyalty by the lackey to assist the emperor in adjusting the imperial political structure.

Accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment was an act of loyalty to the emperor; so also was the opposition to corrupt officials. Diametrically opposed to Sung Chiang's line, the peasant insurgent line of "fighting all the way to Tungching and seizing the damn throne" called for the overthrow of the emperor. To Li K'uei and other heroes, opposing corrupt officials was essentially different from Sung Chiang's opposition to corrupt officials. The heroes looked upon opposition to corrupt officials as one of the tasks of struggle of the peasant revolution, as one of the necessary steps to overthrow the existing feudal monarchy. Their idea was to fight their way from Chiangchou to Tungching and to oppose the emperor after opposing the corrupt officials, to advance step by step from bottom to top. Therefore, in "Water Margin," whether or not to oppose the emperor is a watershed dividing the peasant insurgent line and the capitulationist line, a touchstone for differentiating heroes from lackeys.

The feudal concept based on loyalty to the emperor, a concept vigorously advertised in "Water Margin," formed the ideological basis of Sung Chiang's capitulationist line.

Born of a landlord family, Sung Chiang "had studied classics from childhood" and was deeply influenced by the Confucian ideology. Because he "was filial to his parents," he was nicknamed the "black third brother of filial piety and righteousness." He called himself "Hu Pao I," the title of a low-ranking military officer,by way of expressing his loyalty to the emperor of the current dynasty. One who turns the pages of "Water Margin" is struck by Sung Chiang's words and deeds about loyalty to the emperor and filial piety to one's parents. Loyalty and filial piety were the basic guiding thought of Sung Chiang's political philosophy. His ideal approach to life was what he described as "a soaring ambition," meaning that "he would endeavor to perform meritorous service and become a high-ranking minister," to serve the feudal class well, to seek public office and make a fortune. However, during the years of the rising storms of the peasant revolution, Sung Chiang not only failed to gain rapid promotions from being a small official, but in real life,beset with inter-woven contradictions,he met unexpected setbacks, and persecuted by corrupt officials, he was saved from the firing squad by the Liangshan Mountain heroes and saw no other alternative but to go to the mountain with them. But he went to the mountain not because he wanted to dedicate himself to the peasant revolution but because he wanted to "seek temporary shelter on the marshland as an expediency," to wait for the opportunity to render his meritorious service to the imperial court. From the very beginning he thought that going to the Liangshan Mountain had "caused many evils," and he always anxiously and impatiently waited for the offer of "amnesty and enlistment" from the emperor. This was the ideological basis on which Sung Chiang formulated his capitulationist line.

"Carrying out Heaven's wish" as energetically trumpeted in "Water Margin" was a political program of Sung Chiang's capitulationist line.

Immediately after Sung Chiang went to the Liangshan Mountain, an absurd scene--"The Goddess of Ninth Heaven Hands the Heavenly Instruction"--was arranged in "Water Margin." The gist of the publicized "instruction" was "carrying out Heaven's wish." Here, the authors picked

up the Confucian precepts of "interaction between Heaven and man" and "unity of Heaven and man," giving a mysterious color of the "theory of Heavenly will" to Sung Chiang and his capitulationist line. "Heaven" in "carrying out Heaven's wish" meant Sung Hui Tsung, the existing Son of Heaven; "wish" meant the wish of the Confucians who claimed that "as Heaven changes not, so the way changes not," that is, the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius. In the view of the authors of "Water Margin," the feudal emperor was the "real Son of Heaven" with "divine power bestowed by Heaven," and the wish of feudal rule was rational and everlasting, Sung Hui Tsung being the "holy and enlightened Son of Heaven" of the existing dynasty. Because he had been cheated by evil officials, he did not have his wish effected and so needed such a "star" as Sung Chiang to come forward to "carry out Heaven's wish." Opposing the corrupt officials only and not the emperor and finally accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment were exactly in order to attain the aim of "carrying out Heaven's wish."

Having obtained the "decree" of "carrying out Heaven's wish" from the "Goddess of Ninth Heaven," Sung Chiang then gradually carried it out. As soon as Ch'ao Kai died, he often had these words on his lips, and by the time of the grand gathering of the 108 generals, the crucial moment had come for him to make a big effort to push his capitulationist line. He had an apricot yellow banner planted on the hilltop carrying four big characters embodying the political program. When this slogan "carry out Heaven's wish" appeared in "Water Margin," it was often mentioned in the same breath as "complete vindication of loyalty and justice," "assisting the state in bringing peace to the people" and opposition to corrupt officials. Its substance was embellished by the Confucians' hypocritical claim of "loving the people," and so it often had a greater deceptive nature. If we analyze it from the angle of opposing Confucianism and criticizing Confucius, we will see its reactionary substance clearly. Sung Chiang's "carrying out Heaven's wish" and Confucius' "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" were the same kind of reactionary stuff and nothing more--one defending the already decadent feudal rule of the Sung emperor and the other defending the tottering slave system.

"Loyalty to friends" as vigorously trumpeted in "Water Margin" was a tactic with which Sung Chiang pushed his capitulationist line.

Engels pointed out in "Anti-Dühring": "Morality has always been class morality." "Loyalty to friends" which "Water Margin" described as permeating the peasant insurgent ranks was a kind of moral concept of small producers in feudal society. "Loyalty to friends" often caused the insurgent peasants to be blind and fall victim to deception. It was precisely by using this "loyalty to friends" among the peasant insurgent ranks that Sung Chiang promoted "brotherhood alliance" and played his double-dealing tactics, shackling the large group of generals of the insurgent army so that they could not but be led by him by the nose.

Before he went to the Liangshan Mountain, Sung Chiang used to buy off people by deceptive tactics such as "fond of giving charity." Wearing the mask of "a just man from Shantung," he went to the Liangshan Mountain with the exalted reputation of "welcome rain." After he went to the mountain,

he at one time treated the generals and men of the stockade with such means as "kindness and generosity" and "understanding to the brothers," and cheated the uprising's masses of their confidence in him. When he had pushed his line, accepted the offer of amnesty and enlistment, and became an official of the feudal imperial court, his mask was ripped off. "Tearfully executing a small private" was a wonderful farce. Assuming official airs and shedding crocodile tears, he killed a colonel of the insurgent army who was rich in the spirit of resistance and struggle. For the purpose of showing his loyalty to the imperial court, he did not hesitate to sacrifice the life of a member of the insurgent army. While coldly denouncing the colonel for "implicating us," he hyprocritically dissected himself, saying, "Since I came to the Liangshan Mountain, I have never done anything to harm any one of my big and small brothers." A contrast between these two remarks fully exposes Sung's two-faced features as well as the deceptive nature of "loyalty to friends."

When one grasps the two-line struggle in "Water Margin," one can understand the question clearly. Sung Chiang in the novel was prettified in various ways and eulogized energetically by the authors, yet his fox tail could not be hidden after all. We can see his features as a capitulationist clearly by subjecting him to a class analysis. Insofar as it lauds a reactionary capitulationist line and affirms an ugly and evil capitulationist, "Water Margin" serves quite logically as a very good teaching material by negative example.

(The writer's postscript) In 1972, the classic literature teaching and research room of the Chinese language department of our Nank'ai University wrote an article entitled "Thought and Art of 'Water Margin'" (included in the book "Criticism of and Discussions on Four Classic Novels" published by the People's Literary Publishing House in 1973). At that time, due to our failure to uphold the Marxist method of class analysis, we did not see clearly that "Water Margin" is a teaching material by negative example preaching the capitulationist line and made erroneous evaluation of the capitulationist Sung Chiang. Later, we studied a series of important instructions from Chairman Mao and were greatly educated and enlightened by them. We began to realize that this article was erroneous in its basic viewpoint. Toward the end of 1973, our University received a letter from Comrade Chao An-t'ing, an educated youth who returned to the countryside in Lichin county, Shantung province, in which he made criticism of the above-mentioned article. At the same time, he also sent us an article "Ode to the Renegade." The university's Party Committee gave extremely serious attention to this letter and article and asked us to study them seriously. In spring last year, Comrade Chao An-t'ing was invited to come to our university to make a report, which prompted us to discuss the question of "Water Margin." On this basis, using the pen name "Chung Ku," we wrote an article entitled "Draw the Historical Experience from the Line Struggle in

'Water Margin'" (originally carried in the 1974 No. 2 issue of "Nank'ai University Journal"). This article strove to analyze and criticize "Water Margin" as a teaching material by negative example in the context of the line, but still we had not done enough. When it is reproduced here, we change the title and make some revision in its content.

* * *

Ode to a Renegade

by

Chao An-t'ing (赵安亭)
Rusticated educated youth, Lichin county, Shantung

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Aug. 28, 1975)

More than 800 years ago, a group of 36 men including Sung Chiang led a peasant uprising in the Shantung-Hopei region, a peasant revolutionary war against the Sung rule. Few people, however, have any idea what kind of person the real Sung Chiang was. Instead, the story of the false Sung Chiang, called "Big Diper" and "Welcome Rain," has gained currency among people. Yet what is reputed as an epic Chinese literary classic, "Water Margin" has systematically propagated and extolled the false Sung Chiang. A close look at Sung Chiang portrayed in "Water Margin" with the viewpoint of historical materialism and the struggle between the two lines reveals that he was not a staunch leader of peasant revolutionary wars but a renegade from the revolutionary camp of the peasantry. Instead of ardently extolling the people's heroes and their leaders born in the churning waves of class struggle, "Water Margin" lauds the renegades from the peasant uprisings. And instead of bringing out the revolutionary qualities and fighting spirit of the heroes of peasant uprisings, it distorts and demeans the revolutionary image of these heroes. The book's portrayal of Sung Chiang serves as an ode to a renegade in peasant revolutionary camp, a corrosive that impairs and disintegrates the peasant insurgent forces.

The Class Alignment and Two-Line Struggle on the Liangshan Mountain

The Liangshan Mountain group of 108 generals came from various classes and strata, a hodgepodge of people of diverse categories and beliefs. But judging from their class origins, they were largely made up of the oppressed laboring people as well as landlords and bureaucrats who had once ridden roughshod over the people.

The faction represented by Li K'uei and including the three Juan brothers comprised peasants, fishermen, hunters, shopkeepers, artisans, butchers and bondsmen. Since they had been subjected to brutal oppression and persecution by the feudal ruling class, they developed a revolutionary spirit of defying landlord class oppression in prolonged class struggle, "fearing neither official authority nor Heaven." They were determined to fight to the finish in revolutionary struggle. Li K'uei, in particular, displayed the dauntless qualities of peasant uprising heroes, their open-mindedness, aversion to evil doings, courage in fighting and the spirit of resistance to the very end, as he was born of a poor peasant family who toiled for others. These people formed the basic class ranks on the Liangshan Mountain, the real heroes of the peasant uprisings.

Sung Chiang, however, was versed in the art of practicing duplicity in statecraft. He came from a prominent and "wealthy" landlord family and "studied classics from childhood. When he grew up he achieved some versatility in adapting himself to circumstances." Because "he was a calligrapher and was quite familiar will all the routines of public office," he had been a feudal official and an apologist of the reactionary ruling class. When he was passing through the Liangshan Mountain after killing a concubine on his way to Chiangchou with his face branded as a criminal to spend the life of an exile, Ch'ao Kai and others advised him to join them. He said, "If I don't disagree to following you I shall be a disloyal and unfilial person who has acted contrary to unalterable principles and disobeyed the teachings of my father. What do I gain by staying alive?" So he refused to join the rebels. After he was sentenced to death for writing a seditious poem at HsunyangInn and rescued from the execution ground by the Liangshan Mountain heroes, he had no choice but to go there. But though "his body was in Ts'ao's camp his heart was with Han." He said, "How dare my humble self betray the imperial court?" As a member of the ruling class, Sung Chiang would never have opposed his own class. His class stand determined his performance in struggle. Whenever fighting was bitter and hard in a number of battles, he "abandoned his sword and reined his horse to turn back so he could get away first and in a hurry" while his brothers were desperately advancing. He gave the impression of being a "spineless" renegade.

Also joining the Liangshan Mountain uprising contingent were officials who had long dominated the people, prominent and wealthy big landowners, executioners whose task was to put down popular uprisings and descendants of illustrious and powerful families of princely lineage. Although they had joined the uprising ranks, their motives for doing so differed radically from those of the oppressed classes, such as Li K'uei and others. Some went to the Liangshan Mountain to seek "temporary refuge" because there was no other place for them to go to after they had been convicted by those in authority as a result of conflicts that had developed within the ruling class. Some were men of government suppression expeditions captured by the uprising followers and temporarily surrendered for the sake of themselves so that in the future they could "renounce evil and return to the cause of justice." Their sole purpose for identifying themselves with the uprising contingent was "waiting for the imperial court to offer amnesty and enlistment and soon to become an official."

Different class alignments within the Liangshan Mountain made the appearance of two different political lines inevitable. To judge whether one is a real or false revolutionary, we should first of all examine his political views and the line he follows.

The political program of the revolutionary faction represented by Li K'uei favored "fighting all along the way to Tungching and seizing the damn throne"--toppling the Sung family empire once and for all. In the opinions of the peasant heroes such as Li K'uei, opposing the corrupt officials and dethroning the Sung emperor was an irrevocable goal of the uprising army. This was a correct and down-to-earth revolutionary line.

The capitulationists headed by Sung Chiang, however, dished up a political line geared to revisionism. Sung Chiang came from the landlord class so by instinct he never thought of turning against the imperial court. His ideal was embodied in the "only wish that the emperor in his bounty will forgive us our towering crimes, that we may volunteer ourselves to the service of our country and exert our utmost until we die for the state." Under the sway of this kind of thinking, he set forth the line of "seeking temporary refuge at the water margin" and "waiting for the emperor's offer of amnesty and enlistment." This was an out and out capitulationist line.

This capitulationist line permeated Sung Chiang's whole course of action on the Liangshan Mountain. The first thing he did as the number one man was to change Chü-i T'ing to Chung-i T'ang, an incident that has not been described to any great extent but nevertheless has the effect of revealing what was intended. It implies that Sung Chiang tried his best to change what previously was a gathering place of rebels against the imperial court to a venue for the Sung court's loyal ministers and fine generals. This amounted to turning those "rebellious ministers and brigands" who dared to defy the court into its "loyal ministers" and "righteous men" and shifting a spectacular peasant uprising onto the track of pledging loyalty to the imperial court serving the purpose of the reactionary ruling class. This move later paved the way for Sung Chiang and his followers to surrender and accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment.

The political slogan of Sung Chiang was embodied in "carrying out Heaven's wish" and "loyalty and justice achieved." "Heaven's wish," as interpreted by Tung Chung-shu, a reactionary Confucian scholar of the Han period who practiced the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, meant "Heaven changeth not, so the Tao /Way/ changeth not." Since the emperor was then regarded as the "Son of Heaven" and represented "Heaven," the "kingly way" practiced by the emperor meant "Heaven's wish." In this sense, "kingly way" would imply the political order established in accordance with the Confucian canon whereby the landlord class could long dominate the peasantry. This was indeed a glaring lie used by the reactionary ruling class to deceive the laboring people. Lu Hsün put it very well: In a society dominated by the exploiting classes "the kingly way was in fact never practiced." What Sung Chiang referred to as "loyalty and justice," to put it bluntly, meant nothing more than the subordination of the oppressed classes to the will of the ruling class without being allowed to make revolution. Sung Chiang said, "How dare my humble self turn against the imperial court"--this being his own interpretation of "loyalty and justice." For several thousand years the reactionary ruling class had always used the "kingly way" and "loyalty and justice" to hoodwink the people and uphold their dominant position. As a spokesman for the reactionary ruling class, Sung Chiang vainly tried to use the catchword "carrying out Heaven's wish" to deceive the Liangshan Mountain heroes and employ the intellectual fetters "loyalty and justice achieved" to bind their hands and feet. This served as a theoretical basis for him to practice capitulation.

In Chinese history the landlord class invariably resorted to counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics in approaching peasant uprisings, either using naked armed force to quell the revolt through bloody suppression or enticing the insurgents into accepting what was called an offer of "amnesty and enlistment" so as to split and disintegrate them before wiping them out step by step. The Sung court was no exception. Said Ts'ai Ching, a royal tutor at Tungching, "It is also my first intention to agree to amnesty and enlistment." In a memorial to the emperor, Chao Ting, an imperial censor, said: "It seems better to issue an imperial decree giving pardon and offering enlistment before sending them to the frontier as good ministers for the defense of the border regions." By the same token, Sung Chiang's capitulationist line of waiting for the "offer of amnesty and enlistment" fits in with the strategy of the Sung court and was in complete accord with the interests of the reactionary ruling class. This was no mere coincidence but was dictated by his class character, indicating that Sung Chiang as portrayed in "Water Margin" was not a hero of the peasant uprising but a renegade who sneaked into the uprising army for the purpose of usurping leadership.

"Water Margin" Sings the Praises of Renegades

If "Water Margin" is a novel depicting peasant revolutionary wars it should ardently extol real peasant uprising heroes represented by Li K'uei, bring out their revolutionary qualities and fighting spirit, and completely expose and castigate Sung Chiang's reactionary features and essence of capitulation to conceal his role in the uprising. "Water Margin", however, does the opposite. It does everything possible to distort, demean and abuse the peasant uprising heroes represented by Li K'uei while heaping praises on a band of renegades led by Sung Chiang.

How does "Water Margin" extol Sung Chiang and his followers?

One, glorify them by giving them such flattering titles as "Welcome Rain," "Jeweled Unicorn," "Cloud Dragon," "Invincible Generals", etc. Unlike the titles such as 'Black Whirlwind," "Living Pluto" and "Tigress," these exalted appelations seem to identify these people as figures who stand out among men and are naturally superior to others. This approach to making them acceptable to and popular among the multitude is designed to cover up the real face of the renegades.

Two, advertise them as positive characters born of rich families and different from ordinary people. Some of them are big landlords known far and wide, some are scions of illustrious families of brave warriors; some are noblemen from families having "excellent credentials and tokens of merit"; some are great generals known for their sagacity and bravery, and others are immortals having the power to "invoke wind and rain." In a word, they are all described as loyal ministers and upright stalwarts, filial sons and pious offspring, and as heroes whose "presence dispels fears of being apprehended by government troops and the impending arrival of armed contingents." They are in fact the beams and pillars supporting and sustaining the survival of the insurgent forces, and they alone can shoulder the heavy task of leading the uprising forces.

Three, extol Sung Chiang--chieftain of the capitulationists--to the skies and embellish him out of true proportions.

The novel begins by describing Sung Chiang as an official born of a wealthy family. "He studied the classics from childhood and grew up to achieve to a certain extent some versatility in adapting himself to circumstances." "He was a calligrapher and was quite familiar with all the routines of public office," indeed a gentleman versed in literary and martial accomplishments. He was therefore equipped early in life with the abilities to lead the people, manage state affairs and assume the task of leading insurgent forces. Before going to the Liangshan Mountain, he "took a keen interest in giving convenience to others and settled disputes and always assisted people in difficulties for the sole purpose of saving people's lives." "He never refused to give money when people asked for it and he always assisted those in distress." To the suffering people he was known as "Welcome Rain." "When the villagers heard that Sung Chiang had been arrested all showed sympathy for him." It appears that Sung Chiang the landowner official had popular support. It is indeed preposterous to even suggest that the oppressed and exploited laboring people would cherish the landlords and feudal officials since there is a fundamental clash of interests between the exploiters and the exploited. Sung Chiang's big family expenses and the money he normally gave away for "charitable causes" were derived from brutal exploitation of the laboring people. This belies the saying that he was popular among those who had supported him!

Second, extolling Sung Chiang as a loyal minister, righteous man and filial son in accord with the "doctrines of Confucius and Mencius." He is described in the book as one who "set his mind on loyalty and justice" and "engaged solely in carrying out Heaven's wish and professed not to harm loyal ministers and martyrs, pious children, righteous husbands and chaste wives." Sung Chiang himself never opened his mouth without impressing upon his brothers the importance of "practicing loyalty and justice" and of "bearing in mind that we live as one body and are bound together to uphold justice and practice loyalty and unite to render meritorious services to the country." He himself was so devoted to royal decrees that he would not permit others to break the yoke around his neck, saying that "nobody should dare touch the charter of the state." This shows that Sung Chiang was a lackey loyal to upholding the tradition and authority of the landlord class.

"Loyalty" was brought up by Confucius, representative of the reactionary slave-owners, in the service of upholding the rule of reactionary ruling classes through the ages. "Loyalty to the sovereign" is a concept diametrically opposed to the idea of "rebellion." How could a person who would remain unflaggingly "loyal to the sovereign" to the very end--even if the monarch orders his loyal ministers to die in the name of loyalty--rise in revolution? Sung Chiang joined the uprising contingent solely because of "corrupt officials" and for "seeking temporary refuge in the water margin" so in the future he could "repay the country with loyalty achieved." Just imagine: How could such a man as Sung Chiang become the leader of the peasant uprising?

The political power of the reactionary ruling class has always been closely linked with divine power which has to be invoked when the ruling class wants to consolidate its political power. Sung Chiang is

described in "Water Margin" as a star that descended from Heaven and as a representative of the Divinity and a person of foresight because he had frequently read and applied the "Heavenly book" of the "Goddess of Ninth Heaven." The numerous victorious campaigns fought by the Liangshan Mountain insurgent army were attributed to Sung Chiang's "genius" and the guidance of the "Heavenly book," the will of God, and not to the bloody battling of the uprising heroes. It is only natural that those who believe in the Divinity and Heaven dare not oppose "Heaven's Son." "Water Margin" preaches the Divinity and the "Heavenly book" for the explicit purpose of intimidating the insurgents. Without the "Heavenly book" and God's guidance,they would be no match for the government troops and so they might as well "surrender as soon as possible."

Four, the book praises Sung Chiang's capitulationist line--"waiting only for offers of amnesty and enlistment"--as correct and acceptable to everybody, making it possible for noble-hearted men from the four corners of the empire to flock to him. It appears that the flourishing of the Liangshan Mountain and the gathering together of the 108 generals was attributable to the carrying out of this line. But the capitulationist line could only lead the uprising to defeat, not to victory, as illustrated in the 120-chapter edition.

To sum up, "Water Margin" pretends to extol the peasant uprising heroes and the correct line they followed while in reality it lauds the renegades within the insurgent army and the capitulationist line they espoused. To say that "Water Margin's" portrayal of Sung Chiang amounts to an ode to a renegade is not in the least unfair and unjust.

Chairman Mao has said, "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." "If you are a bourgeois writer you will eulogize not the proletariat but the bourgeoisie and if you are a proletarian writer you will eulogize not the bourgeoisie but the proletariat and the laboring people. It is either one or the other." Every class wants to use literature and art to portray and extol the ideal and typical heroes of its own class. What "Water Margin" eulogizes are not the peasant uprising heroes but loyal ministers, righteous persons and pious sons of the feudal ruling class. The novel extols Sung Chiang, a "loyal minister" who had wormed his way into the uprising ranks, and the capitulationist line he espoused for the purpose of shifting the peasant uprising army onto the track of the feudal ruling class, thereby making everybody a "loyal minister" like Sung Chiang and finally paving the way to acceptance of offers of amnesty and enlistment only to be exploited by the ruling class. This has been verified in the 120-chapter edition. Under the sway of Sung Chiang's capitulationist line, the Liangshan Mountain generals were given official appointments and many of them were honored with titles for their families as well and accorded honors that added credit to their ancestors. Even those who had been beaten to death or murdered were given posthumous honors. Under the pen of the author of "Water Margin," the violent storms of the Liangshan Mountain peasant uprising finally subsided. Isn't it very clear which class's political motive "Water Margin" serves?

"Water Margin" as Fine Teaching Material by Negative Example

As a poisonous book "Water Margin" no doubt served the purpose of the reactionary ruling class in that it did achieve the integration of politics and art of the feudal ruling class. For this reason the book was looked upon with favor by succeeding generations of the reactionary ruling classes as a means of propagating the concept of "loyalty and justice" of the landlord class and blunting the revolutionary fighting will of the people. On the old opera stage, it will be recalled, the character Sung Chiang invariably held the center of the stage, his white painted face and flowing black beard giving the impression of being an upright man distinguished by his sense of justice and integrity. No one then spoke of him as a disloyal minister and culprit. Real rebels such as "Guardian of Mountains," however, appeared on stage in vicious-looking masks and projected an image different from that of Sung Chiang. This shows that the reactionary ruling class was favorably impressed by such "peasant uprising heroes" as Sung Chiang and had a particular liking for the book "Water Margin." To say that "Water Margin" aims to extol peasant uprisings and is a work of revolutionary caliber is to distort the purpose for which the novel was intended. The author Shih Nai-an himself would perhaps have objected and condemned us for failing to understand his real intent.

In the last years of the Yuan dynasty marked by the sharpening of class contradictions, peasant uprisings raged with unremitting fury. The Yuan ruling class was then tottering. Sensing the approaching Doomsday, the rulers frenziedly hit back at the peasant uprisings by resorting to the double-dealing tactics of brutal suppression and luring the insurgents to surrender and accept offers of amnesty and enlistment. In this fierce and massive class struggle the author of "Water Margin" took the stand of the reactionary ruling class. Viciously abusing the peasant uprisings, he dished up "Water Margin," a very poisonous weed, with the object of devising strategems for the reactionary ruling class. He attributed the sufferings of the people to the failure of corrupt officials to follow the "doctrines of Confucius and Mencius." Corrupt officials like Kao Ch'iu, he said, "knew nothing about benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, faith, good behavior, loyalty and goodness nor practiced them." The "exalted and most enlightened emperor," he noted, "was blocked by treacherous ministers." The ruling class used high positions, handsome emoluments, honors for family members and lasting fame in history as inducements to deceive the peasant uprising heroes into turning around their spears and suppressing other peasant uprising forces on behalf of the Sung imperial court. This vain attempt to shift the general orientation of the peasant uprisings, aimed at misleading the peasant uprisings to oppose the corrupt officials but not the emperor and finally leading them astray by accepting offers of amnesty and enlistment, betrayed the "secret motive" of the reactionary ruling class in having "Water Margin" written and published. This alerted the revolutionary people to the appearance of Sung Chiang-type renegades. It took a crafty and reactionary man of letters of the Ch'ing period, Chin Sheng-t'an, to produce an abridged 71-chapter edition of "Water Margin" for the purpose of attaining the objective of hoodwinking the people and eroding the revolution.

Should we then discard things containing toxin? Not at all. Some very poisonous things are on the contrary essential to mankind. Even decomposed and rotting things can be turned to good account. For example, the excretions of human beings and animals give off an offensive smell and will pollute the environment if they are discarded and disposed of at random. But after they are pressed, solidified and made to ferment, they can become manure indispensable to farming. Thus despite the very poisonous nature of "Water Margin," it could be turned to good account and become useful fertilizer for the proletariat and the revolutionary people.

As portrayed in "Water Margin," Sung Chiang in particular shares certain common features with contemporary swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Reading "Water Margin" carefully and recognizing Sung Chiang's renegade features is helpful to raising our ability to distinguish genuine from sham revolution, real from false Marxism, and correct from incorrect lines. It is likewise of tremendous current significance to further identifying the features of capitulationists like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in order to raise our awareness of the line struggle. Therefore, "Water Margin" provides us with a very fine teaching material by negative example in carrying out education in ideology and the political line.

What is particularly noteworthy is that the 71-chapter edition was written in a more subtle manner, with Sung Chiang's renegade features partially concealed. As it was the case with swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, before they were completely unmasked, they were more deceptive and played a role of undermining the revolution from within. In the 120-chapter edition, Sung Chiang's surrender and betrayal of the revolution, and the baring of his ferocious features following his defection to the side of the reactionary ruling class and assistance in the slaughter of the peasant insurgents will certainly sharpen the eyes of the people and heighten the vigilance of the revolutionary people. That is why Chin Sheng-t'an, a writer hired by the feudal ruling class, abridged "Water Margin" into a 71-chapter version. Chin Sheng-t'an would feel grateful to us if we confined ourselves to his abridged version. We must never fall victim to this trick and should publish the 120-chapter edition so the revolutionary masses will find out what kind of person Sung Chiang was after all. Then they will profit from reading this version.

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Strengthen the Ideological Building of the Athletic Contingent

by

Kuo Yü (郭育)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Aug. 28, 1975)

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution started, sports activities of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers in our country have developed with greater vigor under the guidance of Chairman Mao's great call "Promote physical culture and build up the people's health." An athletic contingent nurtured with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and having a new spiritual outlook is rapidly growing. In order to further promote the popularization and improvement of China's sports and to further develop the friendship with the people of various countries through sports activities, we must, during the movement to penetratingly study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, strengthen the ideological building of the athletic contingent and provide proper leadership to it.

Proletarian sports are determined by and must serve the socialist economic base and it must also serve the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, since the socialist society has just emerged from the capitalist society, so in every respect--economically, morally and intellectually--it is still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges. Traces of the old-type sports inevitably exist in our present sports field. In this field, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is long and complicated and at times it may even become very acute. The idea of bourgeois rights, the bourgeois style of life, and the traditional concepts of bourgeois sports are all invading our sports ranks. For this reason, any idea or practice which regards sports simply as "recreation" and the sports front as a "fairyland" and so tends to relax the ideological building of the sports contingent is both without a foundation and erroneous.

The revisionist sports line is opposed to grasping the struggle between the two classes and two kinds of ideologies in the sports field and to "putting proletarian politics in command"; it calls for placing technique in command, in the primary position. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and people like them said, "playing ball games is making revolution" and "going all out in training is politics." Their purpose was to abolish the commanding role of proletarian politics in the technical work of sports and to make us give up the ideological building of the sports contingent so that they might use bourgeois ideology to corrupt the broad masses of teen-youths and transform socialist sports into an instrument with which to restore capitalism. Even after we have criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, its influence still has not been entirely eliminated, and the ideas of "technique first" and championism are still manifested in respect to training and competition within the sports ranks. If we are to step up the ideological building of the sports contingent, we must continue to criticize these kinds of erroneous ideas.

Within the sports ranks there is a theory which says that "when you develop a new technique, you will win over all others." This is to say that one who is proficient in technique will gain both fame and gain everywhere and that to have the sports technique is to have everything. This idea is a corrosive to the sports ranks. In our socialist society, the aim of developing sports activities is to "build up people's health," so that they may serve the socialist revolution and construction and serve the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Fundamentally speaking, the purpose of athletes to raise their technical level of sports is to fulfill the above-mentioned tasks. With this clearcut aim, athletes will be willing to train for the sake of the revolution, to endure great hardships so as to continuously raise their technical level. This is understandable to many athletes and coaches. One of the best proofs of this is that China's mountaineers have twice ascended to the top of the Qumolangma Feng from the northern slope. On the other hand, those who are influenced by the idea that "when you develop a new technique, you will win over all others" train for personal fame and gain. Worried about their ability to win in ordinary times, they have a lot of impure thoughts during competition. It is very difficult for them to achieve good results in this way. They are anxious to "develop a new technique," they nevertheless are unable to master any real technique. Examples such as this are not few. And even if this kind of people develop a technique, if they do not overcome the bourgeois individualist thoughts in their minds but allow them to grow, they also cannot "win over all others" in our socialist society. "Without a correct political viewpoint, one may as well have no soul." Those who have the idea that "when you develop a new technique, you will win over all others" will eventually lose and tumble owing to erosion by bourgeois ideology. Our athletes are trained by the Party and the people and they must set up the idea of serving the people and of mastering technique for the sake of the revolution. Only in this way can they become both Red and expert athletes.

"Technique first" and championism are not only manifested among athletes and coaches but also among certain cadres in charge of sports. Very often it is the cadres who influence the masses. For instance, some comrades greet with smiles those athletes who are able to win places during competitions; otherwise, they eye them coldly. Athletes who achieve good results through their arduous training deserve to be congratulated. But the best way to congratulate them should be to help them sum up their experience ideologically and technically, to encourage them to "advance step after step." At the same time, their experiences should be popularized so that other athletes may be helped to progress. The achievements made and the honors won by athletes are the result of the training given them by the Party and the people. If we use the wrong approach and accord them improper "treatment," or even promote material incentive, we will cause them to develop the idea of "technique first," conceit and complacency. The differences among athletes will be extended as unity of the sports ranks will be affected. Is this consistent with showing real concern for athletes? Leadership comrades at all levels on our sports front must on this question draw a clear line of distinction between Marxism and revisionism, restrict bourgeois rights, smash the idea of bourgeois rights, and place political and ideological work first.

We must continue to promote the practice of requiring members of the athletic contingent to go to factories, to participate in collective productive labor in the countryside and to accept re-education from the workers, peasants and soldiers. Improvement of the technical level is not entirely dependent on how much time is devoted to training, and one of the most important factors is the degree of man's ideological consciousness. Practice proves that the technical level can be quickly raised if we place the transformation of thought on the part of the athletes in the first position, unswervingly lead them to take the road of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and at the same time rationally arrange their training schedules. Athletes are all youngsters, and since they lack training in class and line struggles, if we confine them to the sports stadium or the playing field and cause them to be divorced over a long time from the workers and peasants and the practice of the three great revolutionary movements, they will not be able to weather the violent storms and waves, and such people cannot become successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Integration with the workers and peasants calls for a long and arduous process. We must not take the performance of a few shows at the grassroots level, applause from the audience and warm reception by people for whom we perform as integration with the workers and peasants. Every year we should set aside some time to organize athletes to go to the rural areas and factories to accept re-education and to assist the masses in developing their sports activities. We should turn sports teams into schools for training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao points out: "The relationship between Redness and expertness and between politics and vocational work is one of unity of opposites. We must criticize the tendency not to concern oneself with politics. On the one hand, we must oppose armchair politicians; on the other, we must oppose practical workers who lose their bearings." When we criticize "technique first," it does not mean that we do not want technique. Quite the contrary, our purpose of criticizing it is to bring the power of proletarian politics into play, to "grasp revolution and promote production," to use politics to command technique, to master technique for the sake of the revolution, and to raise as quickly as possible China's level of sports activities. The tendency of being afraid to grasp training and technique because of the criticism of "technique first" is wrong. Political and ideological work cannot be done entirely apart the vocational work of sports. What the broad masses of athletes do most often is to temper themselves, to train and to compete. Their state of mind is in most cases demonstrated in these activities. If we do not dare to grasp technical training, we shall not be able to carry out political and ideological work in a vivid and lively manner and achieve the desired practical results. We must seriously implement the principle "strict training, strict demand." We should encourage and promote vigorous training in basic skills for the revolution, and "improve and further improve technique." Similarly, when we criticize championism, it does not mean that we do not want proletarian utilitarianism and revolutionary heroism. In the course of competitions, we should observe the policy

"friendship first, competition second," and develop the style of going all out and aiming high, being brave and persistent, daring to struggle and to win. As a matter of fact, "technique first" and failure to grasp technique are essentially the same, although they have different manifestations. To eliminate the influence of the revisionist line on this question, we must criticize the main tendencies which are manifested at a given time and place and in light of the concrete conditions of each unit. It is impermissible to apply the same rules to all cases or the effects of criticism may be affected.

Chairman Mao's important directive on the question of theory plays a great role in guiding and promoting the strengthening of the sports ranks and in unfolding the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism on the sports front. We must penetratingly study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and, in close conjunction with the reality of the sports front, criticize the bourgeois thought and style and seriously transform our world outlook. Meanwhile, we must continue to improve the innovation of training and competition and further eradicate the influence of revisionism and capitalism in various respects. Many new things have emerged on the sports front during the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. For instance, good results have been gained from having the workers, peasants and soldiers comment on and evaluate sports activities and competitions and from conducting training with an open door and so forth. All of this is of extremely vital significance to checking the erosion of the sports ranks by bourgeois ideology, and we must continue to sum up experience and persist in doing so on a long-term basis. We should greet the forthcoming Third National Games with the practical action of seriously studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We believe that through the convening of this national sports meeting the struggle-criticism-transformation in the sports field will be pushed a step ahead and China's sports level will be raised considerably.

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Further Grasp Well Health Work in the Countryside

by

Wei Ke (韦革)

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On June 26, 1965, Chairman Mao issued the instruction "Place the emphasis of medical and health work in the countryside," thereby pointing out the direction in which to develop the revolution in health and opening up broad vistas for the development of medical and health undertakings in our country. Over the past ten years, the emphasis of medical and health work in respect to manpower, material and financial resources has, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, been gradually shifted to the countryside, where such new born socialist things as cooperative medical service, barefoot doctors and the despatch of urban medical workers to the villages have grown with great vigor, bringing about remarkable changes in the situation marked by the shortage of both doctors and medicine.

However, with this series of revolutionary changes taking place in the rural health picture, can it be said that effort in this direction "may be relaxed a little" or that the revolution in rural health has been completed? No. Impelled by the movement to study the theory regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat, to further solve problems involved in the prevention and cure of diseases among several hundred million peasants is still the most important task put before the leadership at various levels and the vast numbers of medical workers on the health front at the present time.

To place the emphasis of medical and health work in the countryside is by no means a matter of expediency but a long-term fighting task. Medical and health conditions in cities and the countryside are not the same, a reflection of the differences between town and country. These are the traces and defects that have been handed down from the old society for a long time, and their elimination cannot be realized in a short time. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang pushed the revisionist health line in total disregard of the sufferings of the broad masses of poor and middle-lower peasants. They attempted not to narrow but widen the gap between town and country in respect to medical and health work. Only after the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao was repudiated did an exceedingly favorable situation of surging development as now exists in the rural health undertakings emerge. But, viewed from the demand to gradually narrow the differences between town and country in respect to medical and health work, the achievements we have made represent only the first step taken, with more and heavier tasks to follow. If those engaged in health work are to strive for reducing the three major differences and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, they must continue to implement Chairman Mao's instruction "Place the emphasis of medical and health work in the countryside."

We must not set placing the emphasis of health work in the countryside against doing a good job of health work in the cities. In the cities there is the working class and other laboring masses, and to make a success of health work in cities and improve their health level has always been a matter of great concern receiving the fullest attention of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Great efforts still have to be exerted to grasp certain aspects of urban health work, such as overcoming the bourgeois style of medical practice and preventing pollution by "three kinds of wastes." Any idea or practice leading to the slackening of urban health work is incompatible with Chairman Mao's proletarian health line. The point is, is it true that urban health work can be conducted successfully only through curtailing assistance to the countryside? No, it isn't. Compared with the countryside, the urban sector of the country has far greater advantages in developing health work. So long as Chairman Mao's revolutionary health line is adhered to consistently, struggle-criticism-transformation is further improved, and the thought remolding on the part of the medical personnel is strengthened so that they will firmly establish the idea of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, overcome the evil practices of the bourgeoisie and restrict bourgeois rights in the health sphere, it is quite possible to make a greater success of urban health work while providing all-out assistance to the countryside. Health work in the urban and rural sectors exerts an influence on each other. If health work in the broad countryside with several hundred million people cannot be developed, urban health work is bound to be affected. On the contrary, if the urban sectors render the countryside assistance in bringing about a rapid change in the rural health features, the development of urban health work will be greatly promoted. There are some comrades who say: "We've already worked in the countryside for many years, it's about time we switched over to the cities." In other words, to do a good job of urban health work, they must abandon the countryside as a key point. If the emphasis remains in the countryside, they cannot take care of health work in the cities. Such an idea which sets doing a good job of urban health work against placing the emphasis of health work in the countryside in actuality still amounts to belittling the health work in the countryside, reflecting the fact that the influence of the revisionist health line has not yet been eradicated completely.

Since the emphasis of health work is placed in the countryside, how should we grasp it? The experience gained in recent years has shown that doing a good job of rural health work is absolutely not a matter of simply transferring manpower, material and financial resources to the countryside. Assistance provided by the cities is only one side of the coin, and the more important thing is to mobilize the broad masses of people in the countryside to run their own clinics. The central issue at large today is to consolidate and develop the cooperative medical service, to go on training barefoot doctors. Although the cooperative medical service has been established on quite a large scale, its development is by no means even. There are still blank points in some areas, particularly some pastoral and remote border areas. Some comrades stress the "special circumstances" in their own areas as an excuse for their failure to establish the cooperative medical service. This is mainly because they underestimate the strength of the socialist collective economy and the initiative of the masses of people in running their own clinics. If one

goes to the countryside to take a good look and do some serious investigation and research, one will find that the collective economy of the people's communes has developed, and in contrast to the old society, the standards of living of the poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of laboring people have been raised considerably, so much so that the basic conditions needed for running the cooperative medical service are all there. What is meant by "special" is that compared with other places, their economic conditions are still comparatively bad. But, where economic conditions are bad, the health conditions are also bad and the shortage of doctors and medicine is more serious, showing that there is a more "special" need to set up the cooperative medical service there. Experience has shown that so long as Chairman Mao's revolutionary health line is adhered to consistently, the masses are counted on, self-reliance is practiced, material is procured locally and medicinal herbs are collected on a large scale, it is entirely possible to run the cooperative medical service even in some communes and brigades with relatively bad economic conditions. When health conditions have improved and the masses of commune members are in excellent health, they will be better able to throw themselves into socialist revolution and construction and quicken the pace of changing the backward economic conditions. To wait for conditions to ripen is the idea of a lazy man who is good for nothing.

In those places where the cooperative medical service has been set up and barefoot doctors trained, there is still a question of consolidating and improving them, a question of the direction in which they are developed. When talking about the development of the cooperative medical service, some people used to think of the large hospitals in cities. As for barefoot doctors, they always hope that they will put on white uniforms and mouth mask, and "practice in a chamber." This actually is not the way to care for them. The cooperative medical service is a great innovative undertaking by the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants by relying on the collective effort in their battle against diseases, and it should meet the present requirements of the collective economy of the people's communes. If an impractical attempt were made to chase after "large, modern and complete," the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle would be sapped. Would they not go astray? Barefoot doctors constitute a new born force in the health ranks. They are not only peasants but also doctors, breaking the old rule in health work that obliges doctors to divorce themselves from manual labor, and breaking the bondage of the idea of bourgeois rights. One of the reasons why this force possesses a powerful vitality is that it advances along the direction of gradually reducing the difference between mental and manual labor in socialist society. If they were to be asked to divorce themselves from collective farm labor, and from the masses, would this not amount to making a new born thing fall back to the level of the old things? If barefoot doctors divorce themselves from collective farm labor, they would not be barefoot doctors any more and would slowly be eroded by the idea of bourgeois rights to the point of using their medical skills to serve a minority and working for their private interests. On this question, we must uphold the principle and should on no account give ground.

Can barefoot doctors take part in collective farm labor and look after sick commune members at the same time? Yes, they can. Under many circumstances, they can attend to patients while doing labor. Because commune members would not leave work if they were taken slightly ill, seeing patients at the frontline of production is precisely one of the reasons why barefoot doctors are warmly welcomed. Moreover, in many cases, common diseases, diseases with a high incidence and local diseases are closely related to the working conditions and living environment of a given locality. By taking part in labor frequently, they will be able to find out specific methods for preventing and curing these diseases. Although the method of treatment is more or less the same for curing a disease which inflicts different persons, each individual case must be given individual attention. Only by grasping such differences will it be possible to enhance the effect of therapy. They can do this only when they keep on working with the commune members and understand their physical qualities and other conditions. Preventing and curing diseases in this way provides in a sense a big classroom for barefoot doctors to study techniques and improve their expertise. So long as the vast numbers of barefoot doctors make conscious efforts in remolding their thinking in the course of labor and foster the spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people, they will be able to create much valuable experience on correctly handling the relationship between labor and attending to patients. During the movement "in agriculture, learn from Tachai" a health revolution was unfolded in Hsiyang county, Shansi. Barefoot doctors throughout the county spend an average of about 250 days participating in collective farm labor each year, and have achieved outstanding achievements in the prevention and cure of diseases, thus setting for us a very good example. Can other places do what Hsiyang has done?

The struggle between the two classes and the two lines in the health sphere will still go on for a very long time. There the bourgeois influence is still very deep and the idea of bourgeois rights still makes its presence seriously felt. In order to raise their consciousness as regards the struggle between the two lines, our comrades on the health front should integrate themselves with practice and make earnest efforts to grasp the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Approaching the issue from the imperative need to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must clearly understand why it is necessary to have the emphasis of medical and health work put in the countryside, and be fully aware of communist factors growing in the health sphere and how to support them. We must see the capitalist things which are decaying and how to overcome them. Only by doing so can we persist in the general orientation of the health revolution, keep on placing the emphasis of health work in the rural areas, and unswervingly and consistently adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary health line.

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Communist Party Members Must Strengthen Party Concept

by

Min Hsüeh (闵 雪)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Aug. 28, 1975)

Speaking of the necessity for a clear understanding of the question of the proletariat exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao says: "Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." All our Communist Party members should examine themselves conscientiously in accordance with this instruction of Chairman Mao's, impose strict demands upon themselves, and incessantly strengthen their Party concept by overcoming bourgeois styles of thought with those of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao has always attached great importance to the ideological construction of the Party and stressed that Communist Party members must possess a high level of proletarian Party spirit. In the brilliant work "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," Chairman Mao, in view of the non-organizational viewpoint, weakness of the Party concept and the impurity of the Party spirit existing in the Party at that time, pointed out sharply: "There are various non-proletarian ideas in the Communist Party organization in the Fourth Red Army which greatly hinder the application of the Party's correct line. Unless these ideas are thoroughly corrected, the Fourth Army cannot possibly shoulder the tasks assigned to it in China's great revolutionary struggle." In 1942, when he led the whole Party to carry out the well-known rectification campaign in Yenan, he again pointed out explicitly: "We take the stand of the proletariat and the vast masses of the people. To the Communist Party members, this means keeping to the stand of the Party, keeping to the stand of Party spirit and Party policy." What Chairman Mao meant by keeping to the Party stand, to the stand of Party spirit and Party policy was that Communist Party members are required to set up a strong Party concept and go on strengthening the proletarian Party spirit. For a long time, our Party has observed and carried out Chairman Mao's thoughts on Party building, and in connection with the realities of revolutionary struggle, continued to strengthen its ideological and organizational building with great results.

However, the renegades Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao tried by every means to disrupt Party building, opposed Party leadership, spread the bourgeois style of life, and opposed conducting education on ideological-political line in Party organizations and among Party members. Their purpose was to have the Party concept completely washed out from the minds of Party members, to weaken and even disintegrate the Party organization so as to realize their criminal plot of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao have been smashed, their revisionist lines and crimes of

undermining Party building have been criticized. This has resulted in greatly raising the consciousness of the vast numbers of Party members and cadres in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, in promoting the great unity of the whole Party on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, in steadily strengthening the Party concept among Party members, and in continuously enhancing the fighting capacity of Party organizations at all levels. Our Party is vigorously leading the people of the whole country to advance bravely to fulfill the task of carrying on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese People. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious." Our country is now in an important period of historical development. In order to fulfill the prime task of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is imperative to step up Party leadership and to give full play to the leading role and role as a citadel of the Party on various fronts and in various undertakings. At the same time, there is the need to educate the broad masses of Party members to strengthen their Party concept, so that all comrades in the Party may, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, unify their thinking, observe strict discipline and march in step in order to better lead the broad masses of people in their struggle for the socialist cause.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Fundamentally speaking, strengthening the Party concept means strengthening the concept of implementing the Party line, continuously raising our consciousness of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and resolutely carrying out the militant tasks set by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Historical experience has shown that Party building is closely related to its political line. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the series of principles and policies, important decisions and instructions drawn up by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee in the period of socialism have all been put forward in line with the Party's ultimate fighting goal and the needs of the revolutionary tasks set for a specific stage as well as the task of the establishing and consolidating the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have been put forward on the basis of combining the theories of Marxism with the practice of revolutionary struggle in our country. So long as we keep to the line, principles and policies formulated by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, our Party will be able to advance consistently along the correct path of Marxism-Leninism, all revolutionary work and construction tasks will be successfully accomplished, the dictatorship of the proletariat will be steadily consolidated, and Party building will be continuously strengthened. On the other hand, if we depart from the Party's correct line and policies, fail to resolutely carry out the directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, or even distort and tamper with them, obeying them publicly while defying them secretly, harm will surely be done to the Party cause and Party building will also be weakened or disrupted. Therefore, to judge the degree of a Party member's Party concept and the purity of his Party spirit, the first thing to do is to look at his attitude toward the line, principles and policies as well as various instructions formulated by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. We must strictly abide

by the principle "practice Marxism and not revisionism; unite and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," and unite in our minds the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line with the strengthening of the Party concept. We should guide ourselves with the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, keep on strengthening our consciousness in implementing the Party line, increase our sense of organization, observe Party discipline, and assure that our Party will be united in thinking, plan, command and action on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He who fails to take the Party organization to heart and disobeys Party discipline in action can neither carry out the correct line of the Party nor avoid setbacks in the struggle between the two lines.

Chairman Mao says: "Our point of departure is to serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the people and not from one's self-interest or from the interests of a small group, and to identify our responsibility to the people with our responsibility to the leading organs of the Party." Putting this instruction of Chairman Mao's into practice and really embracing the idea that the interests of the Party and the people, the general good, are above everything else, constitutes not only an important aspect of strengthening the Party concept but also a basic way to surmount the erosion by bourgeois thought and life style. Our Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. Its combat goals and the purpose of its founding embody the greatest interests and highest aspirations of the vast majority of the people. As a member of the Chinese Communist Party, one must, from the first day he joins the Party, understand that: he does not represent his own personal interests or the interests of a certain faction or small group but should be an advanced proletarian fighter dedicated to the interests of the Party and people. No matter what he does, he is assigned by the Party and has only the obligation to fully and thoroughly carry out Party's instructions and no right whatever to go it alone in violation of these instructions. He should work for the Party wholeheartedly, serve the people wholeheartedly, and must put the interests of the Party and the people first in doing things or in pondering over problems and unconditionally subordinate his personal interests to those of the Party. Over the past decades, educated by the Party, the great majority of our Party members have done just that. That is the reason they have won the trust of the broad masses of people and made the prestige of the Party grow among them. Today, amidst the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is even a greater need to do so. If one were to approach matters from one's own interest or from the interests of a small group and cater to the incorrect ideas and moods of a section of the masses around him in total disregard for the overall interests of the Party, if one were keen in doing things that suit his own private interest or the interests of his own small group but otherwise resist them passively or even oppose them openly, he would fail even to meet the minimum requirements of a Communist Party member. On the face of it, cliquism does not seem to work for an individual, but actually it embodies an extremely narrow-minded individualism and play a highly corrosive and centrifugal role within the Party; therefore it must be overcome. Lenin said: "The Party is the vanguard of its class, and its task is certainly

not to reflect the general moods of the masses but to guide the masses forward." Every Communist Party member who joins the ranks of the proletarian vanguard should never lower himself to the level of the ordinary masses and concede to the incorrect demands of a section of the masses; instead, he should unify the actions of the masses with the thought and policies of the Party, raise the masses to the level of Party policy, and lead them to fight for the fundamental interests of the Party and the people.

Another important aspect in measuring the Party concept of a Party member is to see whether he strictly implements the Party's system of democratic centralism and has a firm organizational concept of the Party. Chairman Mao has said: "We want to have all forces in our Party firmly united under the organizational and disciplinary principles of democratic centralism." Lenin too pointed out: "The reason why the proletariat can and is sure to become an invincible force is that its ideological unity formed in accordance with Marxist principle is consolidated with organizational, material unity." In struggle it "has no other weapon except organization." Every Communist Party member must understand the importance of subordinating himself to the Party organization, consciously place himself within the Party organization and unconditionally accept Party leadership. Outside the Party, outside the organization, no matter how capable one may be, he would find himself of little use in revolutionary struggle.

In accordance with the Party's principle of democratic centralism, the whole Party must be subjected to unified discipline: the individual subordinate to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower level to the higher level, and the entire membership to the Central Committee. To observe Party discipline in an exemplary manner is a manifestation of a Communist Party member's strong Party concept and Party spirit. Party organizations in various areas and departments as well as individual Party members should proceed from a high level of Party concept and the demands of the overall situation, submit themselves to the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and carry out the various principles, policies and instructions laid down by them. Party members or lower-level organizations must implement in earnest all the decisions or directives set by the Party organization and higher-level Party committees that are in conformity with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Any unorganized and indisciplined tendency negating the leadership of the Party organization and any attempt to stir up bourgeois factionalism can only endanger the unity of the Party and weaken its fighting capacity and hence must be resolutely opposed. In his work "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," Chairman Mao had profoundly criticized the erroneous tendency of ultra-democracy, pointing out that to solve this problem the first step is to "destroy the theoretical roots of ultra-democracy" and to enable all Party members to fully realize that it can only "damage or even completely destroy the Party organization, weaken or even completely undermine the Party's fighting capacity, rendering the Party incapable of fulfilling its fighting tasks and thereby causing the defeat of the revolution." The second step is organizationally to "practice strictly a

democratic life under centralized guidance." This also means that the Party's leading organs must have a correct guideline and come up with solutions to problems, that the higher level organs must understand the conditions of the lower-level organs and the living conditions of the masses, that Party organs at various levels must be prudent in solving problems and resolute in carrying out decisions once they are taken, that Party resolutions must be transmitted to Party organizations at various levels and all Party members, that Party organizations at various levels and Party members must work out their own resolutions on the implementation of directives handed down from higher-level organs, and so forth. We must resolutely conduct our work in accordance with these instructions of Chairman Mao's in order to uphold the Party's democratic centralism and maintain the correct relationships between higher and lower levels, the individual and the organization and among comrades within the Party, so that the Party will have still greater fighting capacity.

The process of strengthening the Party concept and the proletarian Party spirit is one of struggle during which revisionism is overcome by Marxism and bourgeois ideology by proletarian ideology, a process which cannot be realized peacefully and spontaneously and but through active ideological struggle. Any slackening of ideological struggle within the Party and any slackening of ideological education among Party members is certain to create favorable conditions for bourgeois ideology to erode the Party ranks. During the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, a movement led by Chairman Mao personally, we must conduct among Party members serious education on the theory of proletarian dictatorship and on the Party's ideological and political line, and keep on fighting resolutely against all sorts of non-proletarian ideas and styles, including the idea of bourgeois rights, the bourgeois style of life, the concept of private ownership of small producers, old traditions and habits and against all thoughts and actions that tend to weaken the Party concept. Every Communist Party member, be he an old Party member who joined the Party a long time ago or a new Party member who joined the Party recently, must consciously transform his world outlook, "read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism," arm himself with the theory of proletarian dictatorship, keep firmly in mind the basic line of the Party, and strengthen his Party concept. He must observe and handle problems by taking the stand of the Party spirit and policy and strive to become an outstanding proletarian vanguard fighter.

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Persist in Having Better Troops and Simpler Administration

by

Lan Wen (兰文)

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Having better troops and simpler administration is an important component part of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies. Way back during the period of the War of Resistance against Japan, Chairman Mao proposed to the whole Party: It was necessary to "take better troops and simpler administration as a most important policy." Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao has again on a number of occasions stressed the need to have better troops and simpler administration, reform the state structure and to establish revolutionized leading groups tied to the masses. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, many departments and units have seriously carried out retrenchment, and done away with overlapping organs. Large numbers of cadres have gone to the grassroots level and strengthened the basic-level leadership or have gone by turn to "May 7" cadre schools to undergo training or gone among the masses to conduct penetrating investigations and study. This has exerted positive effects on promoting the revolutionizing of leading organs and cadres and on the development of revolution and construction.

Now, the development of the revolutionary situation has called on us to make a greater success of the work of better troops and simpler administration. In some departments and units, such phenomena as over-expanded organs, overstaffing, an excess of personnel of leading groups and excessive non-productive expenditures still exist in different degrees. Organs have appeared swollen. Therefore, through penetratingly studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, we must continue to carry out this important policy of better troops and simpler administration.

To adopt the policy of better troops and simpler administration is an important measure for combating and preventing revisionism. Leading organs at various levels of our Party, government and army are the tools of proletarian dictatorship. They represent the interests of the people and serve the people wholeheartedly. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship exercised by the majority over a minority of exploiters; all of our revolutionary work is carried out by directly relying on the broad masses of people. Contrary to the bureaucratic organs of the exploiting class used to dominate and oppress the laboring people, our organs should be simple and efficient, closely tied to the masses, revolutionized, and militant. We must do the greatest possible amount of work with the smallest possible number of persons. Thus, work may be strained and strenuous, but it can enable us to preserve an abundant revolutionary spirit, and hard struggle can wash away the bureaucratic dust on our bodies. On the other hand, swollen organs and overstaffing provide an important condition causing us to divorce ourselves from the masses and develop bureaucratism and the bourgeois style of life.

The fact that a small number of leading groups are weak and lax and a small number of comrades take a long vacation when taken only slightly ill or grumble without cause is, fundamentally speaking, a question of line and world outlook, but it is inseparable from the phenomena of swollen organs and overstaffing.

To adopt the policy of better troops and simpler administration can save large amounts of manpower, material and financial resources for socialist construction. To achieve complete modernization of China's agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology before the end of this century, we must make maximum efforts, cut down all unnecessary non-productive expenditures, and use the money thus saved for most essential uses. Meanwhile, we must strengthen leadership over basic-level units and reinforce the forces at the forefront of production. To better carry out the policy of better troops and simpler administration can make our superstructure better suit the economic base and enable leadership organs at various levels to better adjust to the needs of developing socialist construction.

To adopt the policy of better troops and simpler administration is favorable to stepping up preparations against war. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao in an article "An Extremely Important Policy" made a scientific analysis of the dialectical relationship between having better troops and simpler administration on the one hand and defeating the enemy to win the victory on the other. He pointed out explicitly that maintaining huge organs with a swollen body, heavy head and light feet was harmful to fighting. To adopt the policy of better troops and simpler administration, and "make our body smaller but more solid, we shall become invincible." During the War of Liberation, Chairman Mao again pointed out: "Rather have better troops than more troops--this will still be one of the principles of building the army in the future." These directives of Chairman Mao's are still of practical significance in guiding our work today.

To adopt the policy of better troops and simpler administration is also conducive to bringing up and training cadres. In circumstances where organs are swollen with an excess of staff, many cadres float on the surface and are liable to divorce themselves from reality and from the masses. They are likely to become wearisome, procrastinating, and indolent, detrimental to the development of their enthusiasm and creativeness. After the administrative structure is simplified, the broad masses of cadres will be able to improve work abilities and train themselves in practical struggle. This is conducive to forming a strong contingent of cadres.

To simplify certain huge and swollen organs and to send a section of cadres to reinforce the basic level and to the first line of production is a kind of revolution which is bound to run into obstruction by old ideas and the force of old habit. To have better troops and simpler administration, we must remove various ideological obstacles and use proletarian ideas to overcome various erroneous thoughts.

We must criticize the metaphysical view that "things can be done more smoothly with more people." Following the development of the revolutionary situation, certain departments really need to have more people, and this is justified. But even in a case like this, there is still the need to stress the principle of simplification. It is just not true that the more people we have, the better. Our leadership organs at various levels are command headquarters leading the masses in revolution and construction; they are not there for display. Whatever their ranks, our cadres are all servants of the people, and not overlords. In office work, we must pay attention to quality, efficiency and getting greater, faster, better and more economical results. We must never blindly install a lot of people regardless of need and cause waste in manpower, material and financial resources. Judging from facts, having more people is not necessarily a good thing. Overstaffing is not conducive to raising work efficiency just as having more departments and excessive division of work is not conducive to centralization and unity. And such undesirable practices as bureaucratism, routinism, formalism, red-tapism, and scholastic philosophy also may easily develop. The leading groups of some units are so large that a consensus of opinions is difficult to achieve and there is buck-passing. Things are discussed but no decisions are made, or when decisions are made they are not carried out. Work can hardly be done well in this way. It should be noted, moreover, that having more people will create more contradictions for the organ itself. The leadership is liable to get bogged down in routine affairs, affecting the effort to grasp major issues and the line and to conduct investigation at the basic level and among the masses. If our leadership organs at various levels are to do their work well, the most fundamental thing they must do is to rely on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and apply the correct line to arouse the activism of the broad masses. If the activism of the masses as well as that of the personnel of organs is brought into full play, more things can be done and done well with fewer people.

By studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, many cadres have raised their consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carried forward the fine tradition of hard struggle and plain living, consciously broken down the idea of bourgeois rights, resisted corruption by the bourgeois style of life, and vied with one another to be promoters in narrowing the three major differences. Many cadres and fighters demobilized from the PLA and seeking civilian employment voluntarily ask to go to the countryside or the border areas instead of staying in cities or the interior. This gives full expression to the proletarian features of revolutionaries and sets an example for us.

However, some comrades, afraid of hardship, evince misgivings about going to the grassroots levels and to the first line of production. This is not an attitude that should be taken by a revolutionary. A revolutionary should take the revolutionary interest as his first life and at all times subordinate his personal interest to revolutionary needs. He must be capable of working both at the top and at the bottom, being both an official and an ordinary man, working in the east and in the west, in cities as readily as in villages, and show the keenest desire to go to

those places where the difficulties are the greatest. To go to the grass-roots level and to the first line of production provides an excellent opportunity for us to study again. By participating in practical struggle, we can cement our ties with the masses, draw political nourishment from the masses and preserve the features of the laboring people. We can investigate and find out a lot of new conditions,acquire more useful knowledge, and gain new experience in revolutionary struggle. We can foster our revolutionary will, strengthen our ability to resist corruption by bourgeois ideas, and transform our world outlook more speedily. The basic-level unit and the first line of production is a vast world and a revolutionary melting pot. All revolutionary comrades should go there eagerly to undergo training and be tested.

As a revolutionary,one should have the ambition of working hard for the people and bringing prosperity to the mother country. Victories in revolution and construction are invariably won through hard struggle. Without the hard and remarkable struggle by thousands of workers on a stretch of wasteland, there would have been no Tach'ing; without the earth-shaking battle fought by the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants on barren hills, there would have been no Tachai. To build the mother country into a more prosperous and powerful country, the people of the whole country are carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of arduous struggle to make the flowers of Tach'ing and Tachai bloom across the land. This is a great, incomparably splendid cause. We must have in mind the great ideals of communism and preserve the same vigor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit displayed in the past period of revolutionary war, positively plunge into the struggle to build enterprises the hard way and make more contributions to the revolution.

To better effect the policy of better troops and simpler administration presupposes the need to conduct penetrating education in ideology and the political line among cadres and the masses of people. We must seriously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Chairman Mao's thesis regarding better troops and simpler administration as well as criticizing in depth the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and the bourgeois world outlook. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique slandered sending cadres to the lower level as "a disguised form of unemployment" and opposed cadres going to the grassroots level and participating in collective productive labor. Using "high official posts," "rich emoluments" and "great authority" as bait, they wooed and corrupted the cadres in a vain attempt to lead them to the revisionist evil road. But although the Lin Piao anti-Party clique has been thrown into the dustbin of history, its pernicious influence must be further eliminated. Through study and criticism, through the integration of theory and practice, and from the plane of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must fully understand the importance of having better troops and simpler administration, remove whatever interference there is, overcome the resistance, and firmly and unswervingly follow the road of having better troops and simpler administration.

In the process of seeking better troops and simpler administration, we must seriously carry out the policies pertinent to stability and unity and do things according to the Party's cadre policy. We must talk about the line, unity and the overall situation, strengthen our proletarian Party spirit, and oppose bourgeois factionalism. Our cadres are the Party's valuable asset. Both during the years of revolutionary war and in the socialist revolution period, they have played an important part. In the process of seeking better troops and simpler administration, we must not only streamline the existing leading groups but also make satisfactory arrangements for the assignment and placement of cadres, so that each may be given the right job and continue to advance along the broad path of socialist revolution. We must closely link up better troops and simpler administration with the improvement of the leadership style, arouse the revolutionary spirit, get rid of bureaucracy and red-tapism, encourage the personal involvement of leaders in investigations and study at the grassroots level, and realistically approach the revolutionizing of leading organs at all levels. Only in this way can we "achieve the five-fold purpose of simplicity, unity, efficiency, economy and opposition to bureaucracy."

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Master the Dialectical Viewpoint on Unity of Opposites

by

Yen Feng (燕枫)

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Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, which applies the dialectical viewpoint on the unity of opposites, has profoundly exposed the internal contradictions in socialist society and has pointed up the protracted, complex and tortuous nature of class struggle and line struggle. We can seize the initiative in the great struggle to oppose and guard against revisionism and consolidate proletarian dictatorship if we read and study conscientiously, grasp the dialectical viewpoint on the unity of opposites and do things in accord with the dialectics inherent in objective things.

Chairman Mao has said: "Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change." Everything in the world is a unity of contradictions. There is nothing that does not contain contradictions. If there are no contradictions then a thing cannot come to be and still less, of course, can we speak of its development. When we examine anything we must always perceive its two mutually contradictory aspects, must study how they coexist in a unified whole and how they wage struggle with one another and, under certain conditions, transform one into the other. If we see only one side and not the other and overlook the unity and struggle of the opposites, then we may commit metaphysical or idealistic mistakes.

In our socialist society there similarly exists the two aspects of contradiction. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road is the principal contradiction in socialist society. Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory has provided a profound and concrete analysis of socialist society. Chairman Mao said: "In a word, China is a socialist state. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in this differs little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." This clearly tells us that: On the one hand we have established proletarian dictatorship and have realized public ownership of the means of production; "China is a socialist country." On the other hand, some things still exist which "do not differ much from the old society," and there are still left-over remnants among the new things. Two kinds of mutually opposing factors, a declining capitalism and an ascendant communism, coexist and wage struggle against each other. Under

the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the proletariat and the broad masses of revolutionary people have held to the socialist road and developed the communist factors, but the overthrown exploiting class and newly engendered bourgeois elements have gone all out to champion the declining capitalism in order to make history regress. Therefore, the two-class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the two-road struggle between socialism and capitalism will be protracted, tortuous and at times acute. This situation will prevail throughout the whole historical stage of communism.

Lenin pointed out: "Under communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois rights, but even the bourgeois state--without the bourgeoisie!" We are in such a period of historical development right now. "Not having a bourgeoisie" does not mean that bourgeois elements have already ceased to exist, but means that the reactionary rule of the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, the proletarian dictatorship has been established and the proletariat and the broad masses of working people have become masters of the state. Neither does speaking of having the "bourgeois state" mean that it is not substantially different from its original sense, but means that we are still unable to do away with bourgeois rights entirely, that in certain aspects they are still allowed to exist legally, that they may still receive state protection and can only be restricted under proletarian dictatorship. The proletariat has seized state power, exercised all-around dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, basically realized public ownership over the means of production, all of which truly distinguishes it from the old bourgeois state; however, economically and politically we still cannot altogether shake off bourgeois vestiges and tradition and thus no insuperable gap exists between them. "Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system."

Within our Party there also exists the two aspects of mutual contradiction in the struggle between the correct line and incorrect line. "This is a reflection within our Party of the class contradictions in society and the contradictions between new and old things." For over a half century, ten major line struggles have occurred in our Party and four of these have taken place during the period of socialist revolution. Our Party's struggle with Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao have all been acute manifestations of fierce class struggle, both at home and abroad. These chieftains of the revisionist line, who jumped out one after the other to engage the proletariat in a trial of strength, had their social base within the country and a definite international background. In short, this is determined by the objective laws of class struggle and is not something that can be altered by the will of man. Owing to the existence of two-class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the two-road struggle between socialism and capitalism and the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism through the whole of the historical stage of socialism, there is also bound to be a protracted two-line struggle between Marxism and revisionism within the Party. Even in the future, when classes have been eliminated and communism realized, because of the remaining contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base, and between the productive forces and production relations, there will still be two different factors opposed to one another. Therefore, there may still

be two-line struggles between the backward and the advanced and between what is correct and what is incorrect, that reflect these contradictions. In 1971, Chairman Mao had said: "We have been singing the Internationale for 50 years, yet on 10 occasions certain people inside out Party tried to split it. As I see it, this may happen another 10, 20 or 30 times. Don't you believe it? You may not believe it, but I do. Will there be no struggle when we get communism? I just don't believe it. There will be struggles even then, but only between the new and the old, between what is correct and what is incorrect." We must firmly bear in mind this teaching of Chairman Mao's and be fully aware of the protracted nature of two-line struggle.

The two mutually contradictory aspects in objective things are not lifeless and congealed but lively, conditional, changeable and even able to change into one another. In socialist society the communist factor and the capitalist factor, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, influence and penetrate each other, and under certain conditions transform into each other. The proletariat is the revolutionary class full of vigor and vitality and, in its struggle with the bourgeoisie, will ceaselessly develop and strengthen its own forces, develop socialist enterprises, and advance toward the objectives of communism. This is its principal aspect and primary function. Although the bourgeoisie is declining day by day, it is not reconciled to defeat and always wants to engage in trials of strength with the proletariat one after another; apart from carrying out counter-revolutionary conspiratorial activities, they still make use of left-over remnants from the old society and launch attacks against the proletariat in the economic, moral and intellectual spheres. In every way possible they try to corrode our revolutionary ranks, seek out their agents within our Party and state organs and vainly try to attain their objective of restoring capitalism. Now we are still faced with two possibilities: To go forward to realize communism or fall back to capitalism. Early in 1963, Chairman Mao sounded the alarm for the whole Party: if we forget classes, class contradiction and class struggle, forget the proletarian dictatorship "then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a Fascist party, and the whole of China would change color. Please comrades think it over; this is a very dangerous situation!" In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we won great victories yet we cannot speak of a final victory. At present, the two-road struggle between socialism and capitalism still goes on. Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory once again has reminded the whole Party and the people of the whole country that if we do things poorly in our country then a capitalist restoration is possible at any time. We must not take this matter lightly.

Whether or not the proletariat can defeat the bourgeoisie, whether our society advances or retreats, is contingent upon certain conditions. "Where these conditions don't exist, neither side will be transformed by struggle." These conditions are none other than the line of

our Party. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." If the line is correct, if we persist in continuous revolution under proletarian dictatorship, restrict bourgeois rights and at all times firmly adhere to maintaining a comprehensive dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the political, economic, ideological, cultural and other spheres, then our socialist cause will develop and go forward. Otherwise, if the line is incorrect, if bourgeois rights are not restricted or even recklessly expanded and if capitalism is allowed to develop freely, our socialist society may regress. We firmly believe that it is possible to guard against and avoid the kind of regression experienced in the Soviet Union precisely because we have the basic line formulated for our Party by Chairman Mao in the historical stage of socialism. This line correctly reflects the objective laws of class struggle in the socialist period, represents the basic interests of the broad masses of people, and thus provides the basic guarantee for the proletarian revolutionary cause to proceed from victory to victory.

"The supersession of the old by the new is a universal and permanently irresistable law of the universe." In the contradictions and struggle between the new and old aspects of anything, no matter how intricate or repetitive, the new aspects will ultimately assume the dominant position and overcome the old. The setbacks new-born things encounter are temporary; their general tendency is to develop, expand and ultimately replace the old things. Looking at socialist society in the long term, we see that to advance is always the principal and essential thing while retreat can only be the lesser and temporary phenomenon. The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union can only affect the course of the international communist movement but does not in the least alter the general tendency of historical development. The first socialist state created by Lenin has changed color, but we may definitely say that after acute and tortuous class struggle it will ultimately return to the road of Lenin. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Although the leadership of party and state in the Soviet Union has now been usurped by the revisionists, I advise comrades to firmly believe that the broad masses of people, party members and cadres in the Soviet Union are good and want revolution and that revisionist rule cannot last long." When Chairman Mao talked about the inevitable failure of the restoration plots by the bourgeoisie in our country he said: "If the Right stage an anti-communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 percent of the population." This assertion has revealed the indestructible truth that communism will inevitably defeat capitalism.

In a word, "the future is bright, the road is tortuous." The revolutionary cause of the proletariat has already won great victories and will win still greater victories in the future. When we are able to apply the law of the unity of opposites to examine questions, dare to acknowledge the protracted nature of class and line struggles, do not evade the acute question as to the possibility of a capitalist restoration in the historical stage of socialism, and dare to publicly carry out propaganda in newspapers read by the broad masses of revolutionary people throughout the world and the whole country, it will be a real expression of our strength and our full confidence in the future, the attitude of thoroughgoing

dialectical materialists. No revisionist or idealist can do this. In order to continue the revolution under proletarian dictatorship, we definitely "must read a few more Marxist works," learn how to use the dialectical materialist viewpoint to examine questions, oppose idealism and metaphysics, guard against ideological rigidity and divorce from practice and strive to avoid one-sidedness and subjectivism. A clear-headed revolutionary must realize that the danger of a capitalist restoration will still exist in the historical stage of socialism and must also realize the inevitability of the ultimate victory of Marxism-Leninism. Although the future is bright, we must not fail to see that the struggle will be difficult and tortuous, nor, just because the struggle is protracted and tortuous, should we lose confidence or become half a revolutionary. A long time ago the revolutionary teacher Lenin steadfastly observed: "Communists should know that in any event, the future belongs to them." So let us struggle hard to realize the great ideal of communism!

* * *

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Bourgeois Rights

- Study chapter five of "The State and Revolution"

by

Chung Shih (钟实)

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"The State and Revolution" is a brilliant work written by Lenin in the struggle against the revisionism of the Second International for the purpose of systematically expounding the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In chapter five of this work, Lenin, in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism, analyzed the two stages of the development of communism and explained that the existence of bourgeois rights and their essence is inevitable in socialist society. Moreover, he stressed the necessity of persisting in the dictatorship of the proletariat during the entire historical period of transition from capitalist society to communist society. Earnestly studying these themes by Lenin is of practical significance in comprehending the question of why Lenin spoke of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, in correctly understanding that bourgeois rights can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in raising our consciousness of combating and preventing revisionism both in theory and in practice.

The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. This theory was first set forth by Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto." Later, after summing up the experience of the French revolution from 1848 to 1851, especially that of the Paris Commune in 1871, they further pointed out that the proletariat must smash the state machine of the bourgeoisie through violent revolution and replace it with a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. After considering the imminent collapse of capitalism and the future development of communist, Marx, in his book "Critique of the Gotha Program" written in 1875, first put forward the theory concerning the period of transition from capitalist to communist society, pointing out explicitly: "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transition of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." This is an important development by Marx of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. By so doing, he thoroughly smashed all kinds of absurd arguments by opportunists and anarchists on the question of the state and formed a complete set of theories and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the fifth chapter of "The State and Revolution", Lenin expounded in a concentrated way the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and discussed the dialectical relationship between the dictatorship of the proletariat and bourgeois rights. He pointed out: In the first phase of communism, namely, the phase of socialism, "there are no other standards than 'bourgeois rights'" concerning the distribution of articles of consumption. "In this field, therefore, there must be a state to safeguard the public ownership of the means of production,

to protect the equality of labor and the equality of distribution of products." Bourgeois rights are an unequal system practiced under the slogan of equality. Like the slave system and the feudal system, the capitalist system is an unequal system based on the exploitation of man by man. On this point they are all the same. The only difference is that the capitalist system gives such inequality the cloak of equality. This characteristic is caused by the commodity economy which takes the dominant position in the capitalist society. The law of commodity economy is that the value of commodities is determined by the socially required labor time spent on their production and that producers of commodities carry out exchanges on the basis of value. It appears that this right is equal, but owing to the different production conditions of the producers and the variation of individual labor time spent on the production of commodities, this right is actually unequal. On the labor market the workers sell their labor power and the capitalists buy the power according to its value; this on the surface is also equal. In actuality, the capitalists are able to buy the labor power because of their ownership of the means of production, and the workers sell their labor power because they have nothing else. After selling their labor power to the capitalists, the workers must produce surplus value for the latter and are subjected to the latter's exploitation. What is superficially equal hides what is actually unequal. The bourgeois claim that "everyone is equal before the law" and that "private property is sacred and inviolable" is designed to defend this inequality of the ownership of the means of production.

When the bourgeoisie first mounted the political stage, it put forward the slogan of equality for the purpose of using it to oppose feudal prerogatives and building a new capitalist system of exploitation. As Engels said: "Equity and equality of rights were used by the property owners of the 18th and 19th centuries to lay the foundation-stone for their social edifice erected on the ruins of the inequitable and unequal privileges of the feudal system." Actually, in capitalist society, one kind of inequality replaces another. Such a society "recognizes the principle of fair play in name but always wantonly abolishes this principle in fact." This is precisely the essence of bourgeois rights.

Socialist society is the first phase of communist society. In socialist society, the rule of the bourgeoisie is overthrown and the state power under the dictatorship of the proletariat is established. The private ownership of the means of production is in the main abolished, and the public ownership of the means of production is established. This brand-new social system has tremendous superiority over all past social systems. However, since socialist society has just emerged from the womb of capitalist society, it still has the vestiges of the old society economically, morally and intellectually. Take distribution according to work for instance. This principle negates the capitalist principle of distribution. In capitalist society, capitalists take into possession the surplus value created by workers without compensation. What the workers get is at most the value of their labor power. Moreover, due to the existence of a large number of the unemployed, their wages are often lower than the value of their labor power. The more funds the capitalists accumulate, the poorer the laborers. In socialist society, the workers

have become masters of the country as a result of the change in ownership. Labor power is no longer a commodity. For the first time it is possible to enforce the socialist principle of "he who does not work, neither shall he eat" and of "equal amounts of products for equal amounts of labor." This of course is a tremendous advance but not yet communism. The principle of distributing products according to one's work is identical with the principle of commodity exchange at equal value; that is, one exchanges a given amount of labor of one form for a given amount of labor of another. Every member of society receives consumer goods according to his work, which is an equal right. But such an equal right is based on the premise of inequality. Just as Lenin said, "It does not yet abolish 'bourgeois right,' which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal, really unequal, amounts of labor equal amounts of products." Since one laborer is not exactly the same physically and intellectually as another, the amounts of products they receive differ. To receive equal amounts of products, they actually have to engage in unequal amounts of labor. Even though they receive equal amounts of consumer goods, one may be richer than another because the size of the families they support is not the same. Hence this "'equal right' is unequal and unfair." Looked at in this way, distribution according to work "differs little from the old society."

When dealing with bourgeois rights at the socialist stage, Marx proceeded from the following assumption: First, the means of production is already completely owned by society; and second, the commodity system and exchange through money are already abolished. In those days, this was the only assumption he could make, because he "has not the slightest intention to create a utopia or to imagine about things which cannot be known." Subsequently the practice of socialist revolution proved that in socialist society, it is still impossible for all the means of production to be owned by society all at once. Ownership by the whole people and collective ownership will still exist for a fairly long period. In addition, there will also exist the remnants of individual ownership. Corresponding to this, the commodity system and exchange by means of money cannot be abolished very quickly. For this reason, the bourgeois rights now existing in our country are broader in scope than those in the situations discussed in "Critique of the Gotha Program" and "The State and Revolution." In the system of ownership, we should recognize not only the difference between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, but also that between units under collective ownership--the difference between communes, between production brigades and between production teams. We should also recognize the existence of certain remnants of individual ownership. Owing to the existence of the relations of commodities and money, certain people may still have the motive to store up money, get rich or even convert money into capital and act accordingly. Under such circumstances, bourgeois elements, both old and new, invariably intend to do their utmost to maintain and expand this inequality for the purpose of seeking their personal interests or even taking over gratuitously the fruits of the labor of others. Bourgeois rights form the soil and conditions for engendering capitalism and new bourgeois elements.

Considering the state of class struggle in socialist society, both Marx and Lenin believed that it is necessary to persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat during the entire historical period of transition from capitalism to communism. Lenin said: "Of course, bourgeois rights in regard to distribution of articles of consumption inevitably presupposes the existence of bourgeois state, for rights are nothing without an apparatus capable of enforcing the observance of the standards of rights." Further, he pointed out more explicitly: "It follows that under communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois rights, but even the bourgeois state--without the bourgeoisie!" The state is an apparatus by which one class oppresses another class. The state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie maintains the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie and supports bourgeois rights. On the other hand, the dictatorship of the proletariat is one which the working class and the laboring masses exercise over a few exploiters, and therefore it is diametrically opposite to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This being so, how can there be a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie? In answer to this question, Lenin pointed out: "As a matter of fact, both in nature and in society, we can see from real life at any time and any place that new things still have vestiges of the old. It is not that Marx randomly put a handful of bourgeois rights into communism, but rather he grasped the unavoidable things in economy and politics existing in the society which emerged from the womb of capitalism." Here Lenin told us that in socialist society bourgeois rights are merely vestiges of the old in the new, and they are unavoidable things in the economy and politics existing in a society which emerged from the womb of capitalism. For this reason, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat must defend the rights of equality in labor and distribution of goods. From the specific viewpoint that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat still retains bourgeois rights, we can say it is a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie. However, there is a radical difference between the aim of retaining bourgeois rights in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the aim of supporting such rights in the state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat not only retains bourgeois rights but also restricts them and creates conditions for finally eliminating them.

Through a correct understanding of the fact that bourgeois rights inevitably exist in socialist society, we will be able to enhance our understanding of the Party's basic line, further realize the protracted and complicated nature of class struggle during the historical period of socialism and keep vigilance against the danger of capitalist restoration. Since we retain bourgeois rights, there are two possibilities: One is to allow bourgeois rights to exist but gradually reduce the inequality existing in reality and create conditions for the final elimination of such inequality; that is, conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. The other is to intensify bourgeois rights,enlarge the inequality existing in reality and bring up bourgeois elements so they will become a social basis for restoring capitalism. This is a major aspect of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. It is under the slogan "the state of the whole people" that the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique has pushed its revisionist line and enlarged bourgeois rights, making a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat degenerate

into an apparatus for the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie to oppress the proletariat and working people. This is a serious historical lesson.

We are believers of both the theory of uninterrupted revolution and the theory of the development of revolution by stages. On the one hand, we cannot force ourselves to go beyond the scope permitted by objective conditions and do what is impossible at present. On the other hand, we should not forget our final goal. In no way should we look at socialist society from the metaphysical viewpoint, regard it as a kingdom of equality, and perserve it forever. Nor should we retain bourgeois rights forever or even enlarge them. What we should do is to persist in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We should, for a rather long period of time, acknowledge the system of inequality actually existing in certain fields. Meanwhile, with the development of objective conditions, we should restrict it and do our best to create conditions for reducing it step by step. "Further effort must be made to turn equality in form to equality in reality." A series of important measures adopted by our Party for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat are aimed at restricting bourgeois rights. For example, in enterprises owned by the whole people, we adhere to the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" personally drawn up by Chairman Mao and see to it that the power of leadership is really in the hands of Marxist-Leninists and the workers. With regard to the economy of collective ownership, we develop the economy of communes and production brigades and gradually narrow the differences between communes and between production brigades. As for human relations, we stick to the system of cadres participating in collective productive labor and taking the "May 7" road and of educated youth going to the countryside. In distribution, we persist in putting proletarian politics in command, refrain from instituting the system of high salaries for a few people, and gradually reduce the differences of income between individuals. These and other measures should be carried on persistently. With the development of socialism, the factors for the growth of communism will change from an accumulation in quantity to a leap in quality, while the factors for the dwindling capitalism will change from a reduction in quantity to withering in quality. Failing to see the essence of bourgeois rights clearly, we will be hoodwinked by the slogan of equality and will not see the system of inequality remaining to varying extents in various fields. If we do not restrict it but let it expand, it will add to the danger of capitalist restoration.

The triumph of communism over capitalism is an objective law independent of man's will. In the world today, "only the communist ideology and social system prevail in the world with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt, and always preserve their marvellous youthfulness." As long as we strengthen the Party leadership, unswervingly implement the Party's basic line and persist in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, we will undoubtedly create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise, and will fulfill the great historical task of combating and preventing revisionism and carrying the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end. When the

system of man exploiting man is eliminated throughout the world, when supplies of goods in society are made very abundant and when people's communist awareness is raised to a very high level, "the door leading from the initial stage to the high stage of communist society will be open and the state will wither away in its entirety."

* * *

Sum Up Experiences, Promote Study

by

Li Yang (李扬)

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During the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, both cadres and the masses have persisted in linking up theory with practice and continuously deepened their studies in order to "make clear" the question of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. In some places, in conjunction with theoretical studies, the historical experience of the two-class and two-line struggles in their own areas or units since the liberation have been reviewed and summed up. This has deepened their understanding of the theory of proletarian dictatorship and raised their consciousness of carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Relatively good results have been achieved. To seriously sum up historical experience is also one of the aspects in combining theory with practice and promoting study.

Since liberation, Chairman Mao has led the people of the whole country to wage a series of great struggles to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in the political, economic, cultural and ideological fields, gaining one great after another. In carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, various areas and units have gone through the two-class and two-line struggles, and have in varying degrees accumulated positive and negative experiences, such as experiences in criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism, in correctly handling the two different kinds of contradictions, in restricting bourgeois rights, in intensifying Party building and building of leading groups, in stepping up ideological education among Party members and cadres, in grasping revolution and promoting production, etc. To seriously sum up these historical experiences will help us "make clear" the question of exercising proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

Whether or not we seriously sum up our own past personal experiences has a great bearing on carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutonary line and on doing all fields of work well. There are two kinds of attitude toward this problem: The first attitude is paying no attention to the experiences gained in our work, failing to sum them up properly and to give any reason why some work succeeded and other work failed. People who hold this attitude act blindly. The second attitude is to seriously sum up past experiences, to frequently examine the way in which we have been educated and tempered in class and line struggles, and see what are the successful experiences and failings. Such summing up will make us wise and conscious of the need to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and do our work well. One of the main reasons why some comrades continue to make mistakes is that they are not good at summing up and drawing on past experiences and lessons. On the other hand, some comrades have been able to do their work with better results because they are good at summing up and drawing on past experiences and lessons. Before they are summed up, the experiences gained from our work are nothing more than

perceptual things, and our knowledge of them is incomplete. But if we subject these perceptual things to scientific analysis, discard the dross and absorb the essence, eliminate the false and retain the true, find out the relevant laws from them, and raise them to the level of theory, they may help raise our thinking considerably. That is why Chairman Mao attaches great importance to summing up experience. He has said: "We must sum up the principal experiences from our work, including successes and failures, so as to popularize the useful experiences and learn from the erroneous experiences." Summing up successful experiences can further raise our thinking and deepen our understanding of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, so that these experiences may be better developed. Summing up lessons from mistakes can help us find out the causes of the mistakes, turn negative things into positive ones, and so make harder effort to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship. Therefore, both successful and erroneous experiences are precious lessons to us in studying theory and doing work well.

Chairman Mao has said: "What is called experience is the process and end result of carrying out policy." In doing any kind of work, we carry out a policy--if not a correct policy, then a wrong policy. The experience gained from our work is the experience of carrying out a policy. To seriously sum up the historical experiences of our area or unit in carrying out a policy is of great help to us in understanding the essence of the Party's principles and policies and in knowing how to implement them now. Our Party has not only formulated a basic line for the entire historical stage of socialism, but has also laid down the specific line and specific policies for various fields and fronts. For instance, China practices a commodity system but it must restrict the role of the law of value. People in the countryside may engage in family side-occupations on a small scale, but they cannot use them to develop capitalist tendencies. Factories must persist in the socialist direction for enterprises and oppose the capitalist enterprise-management line of putting profit in command, and so on and so forth. These principles and policies have been formulated on the basis of the Party's basic line and objective reality in the socialist historical stage. They have been unceasingly enriched and developed in struggle, and unceasingly recognized and carried out by cadres and the masses. In order to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, chieftains of the revisionist line like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao always tried by hook or by crook to interfere with and undermine the Party's principles and policies. And some of our comrades, influenced by the revisionist line, sometimes failed to distinguish right from wrong on policy issues, wavered to the left and right, and placed work in a passive position. Studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship and examining both positive and negative experiences in carrying out policies will help us find out how we ought to do our work in the future and to oppose any practice of deviating from the Party's principles and policies. In the current study movement, we must link up the study of theory with the implementation of the Party's principles and policies, promote stability and unity, develop the national economy, and do our work effectively and in a down-to-earth manner.

Since the beginning of the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, both cadres and the masses have gained a great deal of new experience in respect to linking theory with practice. Summing up this experience to promote continuous deepening of the study of theory is also one of the things we must pay attention to in directing the study movement.

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The Working Class Must Also Constantly Study and Transform Itself

by

Hung Pin (洪宾)

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A prime task for all the people of the country at present is to make an effort to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship well. We of the working class should all the more study it seriously. Only through studying and mastering the theory of proletarian dictatorship can members of the working class profoundly understand their historical mission, consciously remold their world outlook, fully develop their role as the leading class in the struggle to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind, and the strongest revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in the terms of strength. Chairman Mao points out: "With society developed to the present era, the responsibility of correctly knowing and transforming the world has been placed by history on the shoulders of the proletariat and its political party." As a product of capitalist big industry, the proletariat is the representative of new productive forces, tied to the most advanced economic form. Therefore, it has many characteristics which cannot be found in other classes, such as unselfishness, being far-sighted, richest in revolutionary thoroughness and in the sense of organization and discipline. The historical position and characteristics of the working class determine that it is the leading class in the revolutionary cause. The Chinese working class exercises its leadership over the revolutionary cause of the proletariat through its own vanguard--the Chinese Communist Party. The working class must not only unite with the peasants and other revolutionary masses to overthrow the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes and deprive them of the means of production and suppress their resistance, it must also transform and educate the small producers and abolish all systems of private ownership of the means of production. Besides, it must strive to create the conditions for the gradual reduction of the differences between workers and peasants, town and countryside and mental and physical labor, for the restriction of bourgeois rights, for combating and preventing revisionism, and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat until the three major differences, bourgeois rights and classes are abolished and communism ultimately achieved. This glorious yet formidable historical task requires us--members of the working class--to make an effort to arm our heads with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and, while transforming the objective world, consciously "struggle against all shortcomings and defects that are also found among the workers and that constantly drag the legs of the proletariat."

The theory of proletarian dictatorship as embodied in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is a scientific summing up of the experience of revolutionary struggle by the working class. It points out the orientation

and road for the complete emancipation of the working class, and is a mighty ideological weapon for the working class to know and transform the world. The basic line which Chairman Mao has charted for our Party for the entire historical period of socialism is based on this theory. Only when we of the working class grasp Marxist theories and in particular the theory of proletarian dictatorship can we, under the leadership of our own vanguard and on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, "unite ourselves, unite with the peasants and the other petty bourgeoisie, unite with the intellectuals and all revolutionary people," and isolate and hit at a handful of elements that oppose and sabotage socialist revolution and construction to the maximum possible extent, and exercise all-round proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Only thus can the working class ultimately accomplish its own historical mission.

Chairman Mao has made a series of important statements and given us many instructions concerning the need for the working class to study and transform itself. As early as 1937, he clearly pointed out: "The struggle waged by the proletariat and the revolutionary people to transform the world consists of the fulfillment of following tasks: Transform the objective world as well as their own subjective world--transform their ability of cognition and transform the relationship between the subjective and objective worlds." In 1949, at the critical juncture when our country shifted from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao profoundly educated the broad masses of people including the working class in these words: "Change the bad habits and ideas we acquired from the old society so that we will not be led by the reactionaries to take the wrong road but will continue to advance toward socialist and communist society." In 1957, following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production in our country, Chairman Mao said meaningfully: "The working class must constantly study in the course of work and gradually overcome its shortcomings, and it must never stop doing so." During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao, stressing the need to develop the leading role of the working class,pointed out once more: "The working class should also constantly raise its political consciousness in the course of struggle." We of the working class must never forget these admonitions of Chairman Mao's, but should repeatedly study and constantly practice them.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, great victories have been won in the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in our country, and we of the working class also have achieved tremendous results in study and transformation. However, we must not become conceited because of this. The socialist society in which we live covers a fairly long historical period. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and the capitalist road constitute the principal contradiction in socialist society. Should we change the world according to the proletariat world outlook or the bourgeois world outlook? This contradiction and struggle are inevitably reflected within the working class. Chairman Mao points out: "Lenin said, 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly,

spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." A situation like this should arouse our serious attention.

Lenin said: "The workers are not severed by a Chinese Wall from the old society. The workers still retain many traditional concepts of the capitalist society. The workers are building a new society, but they have not turned into new men who have wiped away the mire of the old world. They are still standing in the mire of the old world." The ideological style of the exploiting class and that of small producers as well as the idealistic and metaphysical world outlook may corrode the working class ranks through various channels. And as the working class continues to take members of other classes into its own ranks, ideas of other classes are bound to be brought into the working class ranks. It is therefore an important task of the proletariat to transform the nonproletarian ideas among the members of its own contingent. This shows that there is nothing strange that the bourgeois style of life may occur and even new bourgeois elements may emerge within the working class. It also shows at the same time that the working class must study and transform itself constantly.

Since sociaist society emerges from the old society, it still retains the traces of the old society. "Even now our country practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange by means of money, and in all this differs little from the old society." This provides soil and conditions for engendering revisionism and the bourgeoisie. The struggle between bourgeois corrosion and proletarian anti-corrosion will go on for a long time. Lenin pointed out: "Capitalism intends to split up the workers so that a handful of upper-stratum elements of the working class may integrate themselves with the bourgeoisie." Before the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the bourgeoisie used money and other material inducements to buy off worker aristocrats and bring up scabs as a means of exploiting and oppressing the working class and defending the criminal rule of capitalism. After the proletariat seizes political power, the old landlord and bourgeois classes, already discredited, find it more favorable to seek agents from among the workers in struggle against the working class than to mount the attack by themselves. Therefore, they pay much more attention to using the method of pulling people out and sending people in, that is, buying off and bringing up new bourgeois elements within the working class, so that they may subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. The landlord and bourgeois classes and their representatives within the Party such as Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their ilk vigorously oppose the restriction of bourgeois rights because they vainly attempt to foster a new worker aristocracy on the hotbed of bourgeois rights in order to attain their criminal aim of restoring capitalism. Under such conditions, certain wavering elements within the working class who pay attention neither to study nor to transformation may be contaminated by the mire of the old world and may even fall into the pit of capitalism.

Chairman Mao says: "Material dialectics holds that the external cause is the condition and the internal cause the basis for change, with the former becoming operative through the latter." To wage a victorious struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and to resist corruption and attack by the bourgeoisie, the working class must above all make an effort to study and transform itself. Why is it that many members of the working class can stand up to the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie and grow stauncher the longer they fight, while some fall victim to the fragrant wind and odor of the bourgeoisie and acquire the bourgeois life style? The key issue is whether one has the initiative to study and transform oneself. We have the socialist system of proletarian dictatorship, the leadership of a Marxist political party, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and rich experience of different kinds of struggle against the bourgeoisie. These are the favorable conditions for the proletariat to triumph over the bourgeoisie. As long as we persevere in reading and studying, have a good grasp of Marxism, and consciously struggle against all kinds of non-proletarian ideas, we shall be able to effectively resist bourgeois corrosion and prevent the birth of new bourgeois elements; and once new bourgeois elements emerge, we shall be able to recognize them promptly and resolutely fight them. In this way we shall be able to constantly purify our own ranks ideologically and organizationally and prove invincible in the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Many young workers exert great efforts in study and transforming themselves. In various movements, invariably a group of young workers emerge as activists in study and struggle, but there are also some young workers who more often than not fail to give attention to study and transformation. These comrades do not understand that the victory of revolution does not come by easily, nor do they understand the protracted and complex nature of class struggle in the historical stage of socialism. They think that, being of good origin, they are "automatically red." This idea is wrong theoretically and harmful in practice. Being of good origin is but one favorable condition for studying Marxist-Leninist theory and for transforming one's world outlook. If one takes this as a pack and carries it on his back, using it as the reason for slackening study and transformation, he will turn to the opposite direction. The abettors of the landlord and bourgeois classes often take advantage of this weakness of some young workers and use material inducements and ideological corruption to attempt to drag them into the water. Haven't people like Lin Piao done just that? The fallacy that one's good brain is "given by parents" has been used by people like Lin Piao to hoodwink people, and the revolutionary young people must never fall into the trap. In this world, there has never been, nor will there ever be, anything like "automatically red." Those who pay no attention to study and transformation can never spontaneously produce proletarian ideas; on the contrary, they may "spontaneously" embark on the capitalist road and even gradually evolve into new bourgeois elements. Entering a factory does not mean entering a safety vault; wearing a worker uniform does not mean having the advanced ideas and fine qualities of the working class. Advanced ideas do not drop from the sky, nor are they innate in people's minds; they are acquired from a constant study of Marxism-Leninism and constant participation in the struggle to transform reality. Party organizations at all levels, the Communist Youth League and trade unions should all grasp the education of young workers as a matter of great importance.

Stepping up study and transformation among old workers is equally necessary. They suffered deeply from ruthless exploitation and oppression by imperialism and the landlord-bourgeois classes in the old society, and have nothing but deep hatred against the the old society which was a hell on earth. After liberation, they stood up and have now become the masters of the country and have nothing but profound proletarian feelings for the Party and socialism. They have also accumulated a vast fund of experience of class struggle and struggle for production. However, they must not be complacent with this but must still persevere in studying Marxist theories, remolding their world outlook and constantly raising their theoretical level and political consciousness. Only by raising their simple class feelings to the level of consciousness of line and perceptual experiences to the level of rational knowledge and by making the most radical rupture with all kinds of old traditional concepts of the exploiting classes can they maintain their high revolutionary spirit and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The old workers also are charged with the heavy responsibility of training successors to the revolution, and the degree of their line consciousness and their ways of thinking exert a tremendous influence over young workers. If they themselves do not study well, how can they bring up and educate the offspring of the working class with good ideas? The notion that now that "the boat has arrived at the pier and the train has reached the station" "we should rest and relax and enjoy ourselves for a while" reflects the corrosion of our workers ranks by the old ideas of the exploiting class, and old workers who persist in continuing the revolution should resolutely resist and criticize it and draw a clear line of distinction with it. Many old workers say rightly: For the sake of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, we must study and transform ourselves all our lives. Such is an attitude we should take.

Chairman Mao says: "Conditions are constantly changing, and in order to adapt our thinking to the new conditions, we must study. Those who have acquired a better understanding of Marxism and have a firmer proletarian stand must also study again, accept new things, and study new problems." We must study and transform ourselves for the revolution. What is precious is to take the initiative and persist permanently, neither halting half-way nor retreating. Only thus can our thinking keep up with the developing and changing objective conditions instead of remaining at the same level. The future of the world belongs to the proletariat, socialism will eventually triumph over capitalism, and the lofty ideals of communism will certainly be realized in the whole world. This objective law of social development cannot be changed by anyone. Worker comrades, let's closely rally around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and advance toward this lofty goal!

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A Correct Style of Learning Is Essential to Penetrating Study of Theory

by

CCP Committee of P'anchin Prefecture

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Aug. 28, 1975)

Since Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory was made public, the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship in our prefecture has continued to develop in depth. Through serious reading and studying and painstaking research, the large number of cadres have gained a better understanding of such matters as the existence of the "traces" of the old society in the socialist society, the necessity of restricting bourgeois rights and the protracted nature of the transformation of small production. This has further heightened their consciousness of combating and preventing revisionism and continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship. Although our prefecture suffered two serious natural calamities--an earthquake and a flood--this year, under the brilliant illumination of Chairman Mao's important instruction, the cadres and the masses, fighting in unity, have brought a new and vigorous atmosphere to all fields of work.

Chairman Mao points out: "It is necessary to master Marxist theory and apply it, master it for the sole purpose of applying it." After looking back at the course of development of the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship in our prefecture, we realize that the key to continuing to develop the study in depth lies in having a correct style of learning and in adhering to the principle of linking theory with practice as consistently advocated by Chairman Mao. For a long time some comrades failed to handle correctly the relationship between theory and practice, either paying no attention to theoretical study or failing to apply theory to practice. In the current study movement, these two drawbacks have frequently appeared and must be continuously overcome. We cannot settle them by one or two attempts. It is because we pay attention to solving this problem, not only encouraging serious reading and studying but also stressing the need to apply theory to practice that we have been able to deepen the study movement step by step and achieved some results. Practice has proved that the course of developing the study in depth is also one of promoting continuous integration of theory and reality.

Increasing one's consciousness of study is a prerequisite to improving the integration of theory and practice and causing study to develop in depth. The publication of Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory aroused the enthusiasm of the cadres for study. However, a small number of cadres who have an inadequate understanding of the tremendous immediate significance and far-reaching historical importance of the present study of theory, say: "We have struggled against the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, wicked elements and Rightists for many years and exercised proletarian dictatorship over them every day, so we won't go wrong even if we do not study." As a result, they are not sufficiently conscious of the need to study, always

put it off, and often lag behind the masses. To solve this problem, we held a study class for leading cadres to repeatedly study Chairman Mao's important instruction and to emphatically discuss why "lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism." Many comrades, bearing in mind the historical lesson of the rise to power of Soviet revisionism and summing up the experience of struggle against the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, deeply recognized that we must see that the overthrown class enemies are always dreaming of recovering their lost "paradise," and that we must persistently struggle against the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, wicked elements and Rightists. We must also see that in China's socialist society both soil and conditions still exist for restoration of the capitalist system and it is necessary to persistently struggle against revisionism and newly engendered bourgeois elements. To build socialism is to build the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we depart from the theory of proletarian dictatorship, we will run counter to the Party's basic line and policies and to the socialist orientation in the course of practical work. With thinking thus raised, our initiative to study has been increased. In the past some comrades used to pick up the book "The State and Revolution" every year, but they had never been able to finish reading it for several years. Now, they have read it over several times and written some of their impressions in the context of their actual thinking.

Those who have an inadequate understanding of the major significance of studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship also cannot grasp its key points nor appreciate its spirit and substance. Some comrades often entangle themselves with some phrases and concepts or argue with each other endlessly over certain specific economic policies and systems. Those who study in this way appear to be quite keen, but actually they have not got at the truth that the main problem to be clarified and solved in the current study is to combat and prevent revisionism and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to earnestly comprehend the spirit and substance of Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, we repeatedly stressed the need to take "why Lenin spoke of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie" as the central theme and then understand thoroughly the following questions: Why does socialist society differ little from the old society in respect to the commodity system, exchange through money and distribution according to work? Why does small production constantly engender capitalism and the bourgeoisie? And why are bourgeois rights the economic basis for engendering revisionism and new bourgeois elements. These fundamental theoretical questions must be understood correctly and thoroughly. The leading groups of many units in our prefecture, as they have grasped the essentials, are able to deepen the study to a certain degree and to apply theory to analyze and interpret more correctly some practical problems regarding socialist revolution and construction.

If we are to understand the theory of proletarian dictatorship, it is not enough to sit down and read alone; it is also necessary to undertake investigation and study as an important means of promoting integration of theory and practice. Some of our comrades think that since they have worked at the basic level for a number of years, they would not go astray

even if they closed their eyes. Although other comrades go to make the round at the basic level and know some conditions, they are only acquainted with certain superficial phenomena and are unwilling to carry out systematic analysis and penetrating research. It is our considered opinion that to solve this problem we must, on the one hand, raise everyone's understanding of the importance of investigation and study; on the other hand, members of the prefectural Party committee must set an example by going deep into the grassroots level. We then decided that members of the standing committee of the prefectural Party committee should go separately to factories, rural areas, neighborhood organizations, state organs, and schools to carry out investigation and study on selected topics with reference to the key points of study. In a few months we carried out investigations into such questions as restricting bourgeois rights, educating and transforming small producers, strengthening control over trade fairs, resisting the bourgeois style of life, fostering new socialist things, and stepping up Party building, and wrote a number of investigation reports. Chairman Mao says: "All practical workers must go down to make investigations. There is a special need for those who know only theory but not actual conditions to conduct such investigations or else they will not be able to link theory with reality." In the past, we knew only that some Party members committed mistakes, but failed to understand deeply the social and class causes of these mistakes. Now, through an investigation into the condition of Party members in Hsintun production brigade, we understood better why capitalism, the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois style of life could be generated among a section of Party members. Ever since the land reform, the brigade has seen its Party membership continuously growing. The majority of these Party members, being full of vigor and vitality, have played the role of proletarian vanguard fighters. However, the bourgeois style of life has occurred in varying degrees among a small number of them, and some of them have even degenerated. The reason for this is that, owing to the existence of the commodity system, exchange through money and distribution according to work in the socialist period, some people are not mindful of transforming their own world outlook and of overcoming the influence of the force of old habits, and corrupted by the idea of bourgeois rights, they are prone to be hit by "sugar-coated bullets." An investigation such as this not only deepened our understanding of the question of the theory of proletarian dictatorship but clearly helped us make sure the orientation of Party building. It is only by constantly arming the vast numbers of Party members with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and raising their consciousness of the need to combat and prevent revisionism that it is possible to effectively prevent the bourgeois style of life from occuring among them and to enable them to resist corruption and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It makes a world of difference whether we carry out investigation or not. The more penetrating our investigation and study, the greater will be our understanding of theoretical questions and the greater the certainty with which we will solve practical problems. If we are to continue to develop the study movement in depth, we must not at any time desist from investigating and analyzing actual conditions.

In the course of leading study to develop in depth, we also encounter the following question: In studying the theory of proletariat dictatorship, must we do so in relation to solving the practical problems of the two-class, two-road and two-line struggles in our areas and units? The answer of most comrades to this question is affirmative, but they may not be able to do it in practice. If they do things rashly and start solving problems without achieving theoretical clarity and without an understanding of actual conditions, they of course cannot properly carry out the Party's line and policies and may even hamper the development of study. However, judging by our prefecture, the main problem affecting the penetrating development of study is still a failure to apply theory to practice, saying one thing and doing another. To be sure, it is necessary to grasp the key point in solving practical problems. The line is basic, leadership is crucial. Our emphasis is on solving the problems of orientation and line for leading groups at all levels, for the reason that this has a bearing on the question of who holds the power of leadership and whether we take the socialist or the capitalist road. There are various problems concerning the criticism of revisionism, capitalist tendencies and the idea of bourgeois rights, the overcoming of bourgeois factionalism, the boycott of the bourgeois style of life, and supporting new socialist things. We must solve these problems gradually in the course of study, and the more thoroughly, the better. Judging by the conditions of our prefecture, some comrades do not take the initiative to solve practical problems mainly because they are haunted by "fear." They are afraid of interference from bourgeois factionalism when solving the problem of unity; they are afraid of confusing the two different types of contradictions when criticizing capitalist tendencies; and they are afraid of offending people when checking the bourgeois style of life. A few of them are even afraid of implicating themselves because they themselves are not "clean." In view of this, during study we help these comrades to cast away the word "fear" and change it into "daring." Our prefecture is a newly developed region, with cadres coming from all parts of the country. In the past, due to interference from bourgeois factionalism, signs of disunity appeared among new and old cadres, local cadres and cadres from other areas, and between one section of cadres and another. Hence, we stress the need to build a strong and effective leading group and to urge everyone to unfold an active ideological struggle, to criticize bourgeois factionalism and to talk about the line, the overall situation, the Party spirit, unity and discipline. As a result, stability and unity have been enhanced and the excellent situation in our prefecture developed.

The great majority of comrades elevated their theoretical level after more than half a year of study. Then, some felt that having read some books, carried out some investigation and solved some problems, they had "more or less" completed their study. This idea of being contented with the status quo is an obstacle to the penetrating development of study. So, we wasted no time in calling a conference of leading cadres at county and higher levels to analyze the situation of study and guide everyone of them to correctly recognize that although some results had been attained in our study of theory, we had only taken the first step and there was no end to study. For instance, some understanding has been achieved of such issues as the commodity system, exchange through money and distribution according to work, it has not been systematic nor profound. To make these questions really clear, it is still necessary to make long-term efforts

to master the basic theories of Marxism. To continue to develop the study in depth, we held a book-reading class on political economy for leading cadres at county and higher levels, and relevant chapters were selected from "Capital" and studied. Some comrades previously were unable to give theoretical explanations as to why the socialist society differs little from the old society in respect to the commodity system and exchange through money. After studying political economy, they recognized that while the commodity system and exchange through money under socialist conditions play a positive role in developing the socialist economy, they also provide the soil for engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie. Corrupted by the idea of bourgeois rights, some people may use various legal and illegal ways to take possession of large amounts of commodities and money and even turn them into capital. Such a negative role of the commodity system and exchange through money must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This period of more systematic study of theory has made us more aware that studying Marxism-Leninism and the theory of proletarian dictatorship is not only an urgent but also a long-term task, and that if we stop after studying it for a while or become complacent with learning some of it, we cannot persist in our study and learn more things. Some comrades put it well: "In studying theory, we must have the spirit of climbing mountains. We must not be afraid of any difficulty, we must overcome various obstacles and continue to head for the peak."

We feel that whether the style of learning is correct or not is not an ordinary problem of study methods but a problem of Party style, a problem of attitude toward Marxism-Leninism. Only by having a correct style of learning can we understand the theory of proletarian dictatorship on the basis of linking theory with practice and can we effectively raise our Marxist-Leninist level. Recently, the large number of cadres in our prefecture have been studying again Chairman Mao's brilliant works published during the Yenan rectification campaign, including "Reform Our Study," "Adjusting the Party's Style of Work" and "Study and the Current Situation," in order to overcome the incorrect style in studying theory. We are determined to take these brilliant works of Chairman Mao's as the guide, persist in and develop the revolutionary style of learning in linking theory with practice, and gradually deepen the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship. We will further promote stability and unity, develop the national economy, and win new victories in socialist revolution and construction.

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Emancipated Serfs Advance Along the Socialist Road

- Celebrating the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Tibet Autonomous Region

by

Chu Feng* (朱锋)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Aug. 28, 1975)

September 9, 1975 is the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Tibet Autonomous Region in China. This is a red-letter day to the people of various nationalities filled with the joy of victory in Tibet.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army marched into Tibet in 1951 and drove out the aggressive forces of imperialism, thus bringing about the unity of the mainland of our country. After the armed rebellion launched by the reactionary clique of the upper strata in Tibet was put down in 1959, the million serfs there waged sharp class struggles under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, overthrew feudal serfdom, and transformed feudal ownership by serf-owners into individual ownership by peasants and herdsmen, thereby winning the great victory of the democratic revolution. The Tibet Autonomous Region was founded in this excellent situation in 1965.

Which way will Tibet go after basic victory was won in the democratic revolution? To socialism along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line or to capitalism? Or even allow the restoration of feudal serfdom? This question has a direct bearing on the destiny and future of the people of various nationalities in Tibet as well as the consolidation of the frontier region of our socialist motherland under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The people in Tibet have lived up to the expectations of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Spurred on by the great proletarian cultural revolution and the mass movements to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the million emancipated serfs and other laboring people are striding forward along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line; a new socialist Tibet is developing vigorously and the dictatorship of the proletariat is becoming more and more consolidated. In the last decade Tibet has witnessed earth-shaking changes in the political, economic and ideological and cultural fields. Both cadres and the masses have conscientiously studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and penetratingly criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. This has enormously raised their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle. The socialist revolution in the various spheres of the superstructure has developed in

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depth and large numbers of socialist new things have sprung up and are growing in strength. The socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been completed in the main and this has further liberated the social productive forces; socialist construction is thriving with each passing day. Today socialism is triumphantly advancing everywhere, from the valleys of three rivers to the Ali tableland, from the northern Tibetan grassland to the foothills of the Himalaya Mountains.

What are the main experiences gained by the people of various nationalities in Tibet from their successes in carrying out socialist revolution and construction on the ruins of the feudal serf system?

Guided by the Party's basic line, they have first of all persevered in waging class struggle, dealing blows at the restorationist forces of the reactionary serf-owning class. Chairman Mao has taught us: "In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." Only by applying this Marxist principle in observing and dealing with questions can we correctly understand and handle the various social contradictions in areas inhabited by national minorities and promote the development of the socialist cause there.

On the basis of the victory in the democratic revolution, we have gone on to carry out the socialist transformation of agriculture and animal husbandry, the objective demand of the development of class struggle. Following the democratic reform in Tibet, the reactionary serf-owning class lost its ruling position and the million emancipated serfs became the masters of Tibet. However, if the individual ownership of the means of production was not transformed, it still could become the economic base for restoring capitalism and the feudal serf system. To actively lead the peasants and herdsmen to take the socialist road step by step, we have since 1965 established people's communes in selected places and gradually spread them out. More than 99 percent of the townships in the autonomous region have now set up people's communes and the socialist transformation of agriculture and animal husbandry has been basically completed. This is an epoch-making change in the history of Tibet and a great victory of the socialist revolution there under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party.

From the very beginning, this socialist transformation movement was a complex and sharp class struggle, more extensive and deep-going than the democratic revolution. It was a revolution in the ownership as well as in the political and ideological fields; at the same time it was a major step in gradually removing the soil on which capitalism breeds and grows. The feudal serf-owners and the urban and rural capitalist forces know very well that establishment of the socialist collective economy makes it more difficult for them to stage a comeback and develop capitalism. Therefore, they tried to obstruct the socialist transformation by every conceivable means. Under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, Party organizations at all levels in Tibet have persevered in educating and arming the masses with the Party's

basic line and helped them realize that this struggle, in essence, is a question of taking the socialist or capitalist road and also a question concerning whether or not restoration of the feudal serf system can be prevented. From their own experience, the emancipated serfs and other laboring people understand that the people's commune is the "golden bridge" leading to their complete liberation. Under the leadership of the Party, they have cleared away all obstacles and valiantly taken the bright socialist road.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Before a brand-new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must be swept clean." The old superstructure, including the old ideology, serves its decadent economic base. The victory of the democratic reform overthrew the rule of the three big estate owners--the reactionary local government, monasteries and aristocrats--and gave the ideology of the declining classes a tremendous battering. To build socialism in this land long ruled by the feudal serf-owning class involves a very arduous and complex struggle to sweep the old site clean. For centuries the serf-owning class always used the "mandate of Heaven" and "divine right" as the ideological pillars of its reactionary rule. It described the supreme reactionary ruler in Tibet as the "living Buddha" who had the mandate of "Heaven" to rule the serfs, and attributed the shocking torture, oppression and exploitation suffered by the serfs to "their predestined fate." The reactionary classes often use these fallacies to undermine the socialist cause. Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, particularly since the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius began, the emancipated serfs have deeply criticized the "transcendentalism" and the concept of "mandate of Heaven" spread by Lin Piao and Confucius and declared war on the "mandate of Heaven" and "divine right." Through criticism meetings, organizing exhibitions on class education and comparing past suffering with present happiness, they have repudiated revisionism and the ideology of the reactionary declining classes.

As a cure for the sick in the past, monasteries and headmen used to force people to cast a horoscope and recite the sutra to appease the gods and drive away the demons. Now a medical and health network has been initially established and more than 6,000 barefoot doctors are playing an active role in preventing and curing diseases. In the past, the so-called "divine mountains," "divine streams" and "divine earth" could not be touched. Today, however, the people of Tibet have launched a battle to transform nature, tunnelling through mountains to conduct water from one place to another and building farmland by improving the soil. To help the masses master Marxist dialectical and historical materialism step by step and smash spiritual shackles such as the "mandate of Heaven" and "divine right," political evening schools, newspaper reading groups and spare-time literary and art propaganda teams have been set up in the rural and pastoral areas under the leadership of the Party organizations at various levels. A contingent in the study of the Marxist theory made up of more than 30,000 workers and poor and lower-middle peasants (herdsmen) has been established, and socialist ideology and culture are continually extending their positions. It has been proved by facts that "the more deeply the old soil is plowed up by revolution, the more difficult will it be to restore the old order." Hence the more solid the foundation of the socialist system.

The practical struggle has enabled us to understand profoundly that firm reliance on the million emancipated serfs is the basic guarantee for the triumphant development of socialist revolution and construction.

Socialism is an undertaking of millions of people. Precisely as Lenin pointed out: "Living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves." The million emancipated serfs are the main body of the various nationalities in Tibet and the motive force in the making of its history. Without their genuine awakening and heroic struggle, it is impossible to establish and consolidate the socialist system. Why do the restoration plots of a handful of class enemies always fail? Why does the socialist cause surge ahead like the waters of the Yalutsangpo River /the biggest river in Tibet/? A very important factor is that the million emancipated serfs, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, are determined to take the socialist road. Because they suffered the heaviest oppression and exploitation under the feudal serf system, they cherish boundless love for Chairman Mao, the Communist Party and socialism. Knowing the great truth that "only socialism can save China," they consciously struggle for the victory of the socialist cause. They constitute the forces to be relied on in building a new Tibet.

One of the important problems in relying on the million emancipated serfs to develop the socialist cause is training and selecting large numbers of minority cadres. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Without a large number of communist cadres of minority nationalities, it would be impossible to solve the national problem thoroughly and to isolate the minority nationality reactionaries completely." In the eyes of the reactionary rulers, the former serfs were nothing but "tools that can talk." Nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought, many of them have now become communist fighters. Particularly since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, there has emerged from the tempering and trial in the storms of revolutionary struggle a large number of advanced elements with a certain level of consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle. Many of them have been chosen and promoted to various leading posts by the Party and the masses. Minority cadres now make up more than 60 percent of all cadres in the whole autonomous region. In leading groups at the county, prefecture and autonomous region levels, 46 percent of the cadres are minority people. The principal leading cadres in districts and people's communes in the rural and pastoral areas are generally minority people. A large group of women cadres from the national minorities have also rapidly grown up in the course of struggle. The minority cadres have done a lot of work for the Party, the people and the socialist cause; they are the worthy sons and daughters of the laboring people of various nationalities in Tibet and the valuable revolutionary asset of the Party and Tibetan people.

Another important experience gained in the earthshaking changes in Tibet over the last decade is the carrying out of the basic principle for building socialism--self-reliance, hard struggle.

Tibet is an inalienable part of our great motherland. From the period of democratic revolution to that of socialist revolution, Tibet has consistently received the state's powerful assistance and the fraternal nationalities' warm support in manpower, material, finance and technique. This fully shows the tremendous concern of the Party toward the people of Tibet and the close unity of the various nationalities in the country. Such help and assistance are certainly very important in promoting the development of revolution and construction in Tibet. However, fundamentally changing its face and doing a good job in the revolution and construction there depends on hard struggle by the cadres and masses in Tibet.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal society of the future, but to translate this ideal into reality needs hard work." Whether to adhere to self-reliance and hard struggle or to stress difficulties and ask for help reflects a struggle between the two lines and two ideologies and has a bearing on achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. Tibet was exploited and plundered by reactionaries at home and abroad for a long time in the past and is poor and blank with a weak foundation. Thus it is all the more important to adhere to the principle of self-reliance and hard struggle. In the course of leading the people of Tibet in carrying out socialist revolution and construction, Party organizations at various levels in Tibet have always taken education in self-reliance and hard struggle as an important content of their ideological and political work. They have, from the high plane of the two-line struggle, educated the cadres and the masses to foster the lofty aspirations of the proletariat, criticize the world outlook of the lazy and the timid and use their own hands to build a new socialist Tibet. Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and especially in the last few years, Party organizations at all levels in Tibet have made great efforts to vigorously lead the mass movements to learn from the Tach'ing Oilfield in industry and to learn from the Tachai production brigade in agriculture. Furthermore, using the method of combining general guidance with individual guidance, they carefully summed up the advanced experiences among the masses in the areas, discovered and set up a group of advanced models including the Liehmai Commune, Hungch'i Commune, and the Chiachia Maintenance Section. These advanced models vividly show that the spirit of Tach'ing and the spirit of Tachai have taken root and borne flowers on the Tibetan plateau. As a result, the Party's principle of self-reliance and hard struggle takes still deeper root in the minds of the people than ever before, thereby enormously accelerating the socialist revolution and construction on all fronts in the region.

The laboring people in Tibet are diligent and courageous. In the past they developed the Tibetan Plateau with their own labor and wisdom and performed indelible meritorious deeds in the course of founding our great motherland. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line since liberation, the laboring masses of Tibet, together with the PLA men stationed there and the comrades who have gone to work in Tibet, have carried forward the revolutionary traditions, overcome difficulties and performed unprecedented deeds on the "roof of the world" and thus made new contributions to the motherland.

It is necessary here to review what the old Tibet was like and compare it with post-liberation changes. There was no industry at all under feudal serfdom and even a screw had to be shipped in from other parts of the country. Communications were poor and transport depended entirely on pack animals or people carrying loads on their backs. Farming and livestock-breeding were backward and at the mercy of nature; with neither the means of production nor personal freedom, the serfs lived a miserable life in a hell on earth. The region was short of doctors and medicine which were beyond the reach of the masses. Hence diseases were rampant. As to the right of access to culture and education, it was something the masses dared not even dream of. Following the overthrow of the serf-owning class' reactionary rule after liberation, the million emancipated serfs, led by Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, have been marching on the bright road of socialism, bringing their inexhaustible creative power into full play and rapidly changing the face of Tibet. According to 1974 statistics, the whole region has built over 250 medium and small factories and mines and the total value of industrial output rose nearly threefold over 1965. Total grain output was 2.5 times that of 1958, the year before the democratic reform, and Tibet achieved self-sufficiency in grain for the first time in history. In animal husbandry, after overcoming serious natural disasters, the number of cattle increased 1.3-fold over 1958. In communications and transport, a highway network has been built with Lhasa as the center and the Szechuan-Tibet, Chinghai-Tibet and Sinkiang-Tibet Highways as trunk lines, and motor vehicles now reach 97 percent of Tibet's counties. Along with the growth of production, the people's living standard has been gradually improved, the population of the national minorities has rapidly increased and remarkable results have been gained in culture, education and public health. All of this proves the great truth pointed out by Chairman Mao: "The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome."

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious." The leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies play the decisive role in enabling Tibet to advance from the feudal serf system to socialism and make a historical leap.

Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee have always shown great concern for the people of Tibet and paid close attention to its revolution and construction. Chairman Mao's many instructions on the Tibet question pointed out opportunely the orientation of its revolution and construction and set forth concrete tactics and principles. In the democratic reform, socialist transformation and the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee have consistently taught us to correctly implement the Party's line, principles and policies by proceeding from Tibet's actual conditions and seize victory step by step in a prudent and down-to-earth way. Practice proves that as long as we do things firmly in accordance with the instructions of

Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and publicize among and organize the masses with the Party's line, principles and policies, revolution will develop and advance; otherwise, it will make mistakes and bring damage to the cause of the Party. This is our most profound understanding over many years as well as the most basic experience in our work in Tibet.

An important aspect in strengthening the Party's leadership lies in doing a good job of building grassroots Party organizations. With the deepening of the socialist transformation in Tibet, large numbers of active elements with communist consciousness and who resolutely take the socialist road have emerged from among the grassroots cadres and the masses. This is an excellent mass basis for developing and expanding Party organizations. Through Party consolidation and Party building, grassroots Party organizations in rural and pastoral areas throughout the region have now more than doubled compared with 1965, and Party branches have been established in more than 90 percent of the communes in the region. The number of Communist Party members of national minorities in Tibet is now nearly four times that of 1965. In socialist revolution and construction, grassroots Party organizations have played their role as strong fighting bastions and Party members have played an exemplary vanguard role.

Class struggle is complex in Tibet which lies in China's frontier region and occupies an important strategic position. Strengthening the revolutionary unity between the Party, government, army and people under the centralized leadership of the Party is of tremendous significance. Unity between army and people, between army and government, between cadres and masses and between the various nationalities in Tibet has been formed through prolonged revolutionary struggle and has excellent traditions. Since its entry into Tibet, the Chinese PLA has faithfully implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, carried out the "three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention," and established close relations with the laboring people in Tibet like those of fish to water. They have fully developed their role of being a fighting team, a work team and a production team and have made great contributions to revolution and construction in Tibet. Many workers, cadres and revolutionary intellectuals who have come to work in Tibet have taken part in building Tibet, considered the frontier as their homes, regarded hard work as a happy and honorable task and lived in harmony with the local cadres and masses. They have respected and closely united with each other, fought together, and established a new-type socialist relationship among people of different nationalities. The policy of uniting with, educating and transforming the patriotic people of the upper strata has heightened their enthusiasm to work for socialism. Chairman Mao has said: "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities--these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause." Cadres and masses of various nationalities in Tibet have a profound understanding of this instruction of Chairman Mao's.

The achievements since the founding of the Tibet Autonomous Region ten years ago are a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Party's policy toward nationalities and the great proletarian cultural

revolution. While celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Tibet Autonomous Region, the emancipated serfs sing with joy:

> From Peking's golden hill,
> Light shines forth far and wide.
> Chairman Mao is the bright golden sun,
> How warm and how kind,
> Lighting up the hearts of the emancipated serfs.
> We are striding along the broad and happy socialist road.

This song has expressed the infinite affection of the people of all nationalities in Tibet toward Chairman Mao and the Communist Party and their staunch will in continuing the revolution.

On the eve of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, Chairman Mao pointed out to the whole Party: "The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous." Using socialism to defeat capitalism and finally realizing communism through the dictatorship of the proletariat--this is a protracted and arduous historical task for the people of all nationalities of our country. Compared with this task, our successes achieved so far are only the first step of a long journey of ten thousand li. At present, the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is developing in depth in the Tibet Autonomous Region as in the rest of the country. The people of all nationalities in Tibet are determined to study the theory well, strengthen their unity, promote the development of the national economy and win still greater victories in socialist revolution and construction under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee.

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Rely on the Masses to Advance at High Speed

by

the Headquarters for Planning the Building of the
Shanghai General Petrochemical Plant

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Aug. 28, 1975)

The Shanghai General Petrochemical Plant, also known as the Chinshan project, is a giant modern complex to produce a variety of synthetic fibers out of petroleum. It has been more than two years since the construction of the project got under way. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we have achieved great progress by relying on the tremendous support of the whole city and other cities and provinces throughout the country as well as the concerted efforts of the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, revolutionary cadres and technicians on the worksite. The once desolated seashore has now been turned into a forest of buildings, pipelines and tower-tanks. Beyond the plant area, a steel block-type oil terminal for handling 10,000-ton class tankers has been basically completed. Also completed and open to traffic are a branch railway line and the Huangpu River Railway Bridge.

The rapid progress of the Chinshan project is a victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the policy of "maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands, and relying on our own efforts." It is also the result of carrying out a great mass movement under Party leadership.

The Chinshan project is a giant project. It calls for building ten huge factories including an oil refinery, a cracking unit, a silk drawing unit and an effluent treatment plant as well as a number of subsidiary projects and living quarters and facilities. It is scheduled to be completed and in operation within 2-3 years. How can such an enormous modern project be accomplished with greater, faster, better and more economical results? We stress the need to launch a big mass movement, to fully utilize the existing industrial base in Shanghai city, to bring the positive factors of all trades and occupations into play, and to organize great socialist cooperation and coordination. Under the unified leadership of the Municipal /Party/ Committee, we organized the city's industrial departments, designing units and nearly a hundred factories to undertake separately the various construction projects. The city's workers, peasants, commercial workers, students, and soldiers were mobilized into action and formed a mammoth mass movement in Chinshan.

Relying on the masses, immense strength can be derived, and many things that were once considered impossible can be achieved. In view of the size and load of such an enormous undertaking, it is even more imperative to organize a mass movement on a large scale. After the site of the Chinshan project was determined, in order to avoid the tidal waves, a sea wall had to be completed within the winter. Working in the ice cold winter, thousands of poor and lower-middle peasants brought along their own work tools, completed 1.2 million cubic meters of earthwork, and built a dike 17 li long on the beach in only 32 days. After the project

was in full swing, a construction army of 50,000 men from all fronts gathered at the worksite and with great speed completed one modern project after another. Normally, an oxygen plant takes a year to complete. But here it took only 134 days from construction to production. The Peifang silk drawing workshop of the Chinlon Plant occupying a construction area of 34,000 square meters, which would have taken at least half a year to build in the past, was completed in only 45 days. While the mass movement at the worksite was developing vigorously, various trades and occupations in the city and many factories throughout the country were also providing all-out aid to Chinshan. Take Shanghai alone as an example. Over 500 factories were rushing out equipment and materials for the Chinshan project. They included large factories employing ten thousand workers, cottage factories in street lanes and factories run by communes and brigades in the suburbs. To build the oil terminal and the Huangpu River Bridge, more than 400 steel beams were urgently needed, and welding these beams involved a volume of welding that would be required on three 10,000-ton steamships. But the shipyards in Shanghai shared this task between themselves and delivered the beams to the worksite in less than three months. In July last year, installation work at the Chinshan worksite was reaching a climax, and the supply of various types of materials became very strained. The Municipal Storage-clearance and Austerity Unit mobilized more than 500 units including factories, army units, schools and state organs to bring out more than 6 million yuan worth of materials within a few days and deliver them to Chinshan in over 160 trucks. Every bit of progress achieved in the Chinshan project over the past two years was inseparable from the mighty mass movement. Chairman Mao has said: "In doing all work, it is necessary to unfold a mass movement, for without it nothing can be achieved." This is also true of capital construction. The more modern a large-scale project, the greater the need to launch a big mass movement. This is the only way to get high speed, high quality and high level in the development of a project.

The petrochemical industry is a newly emerging industry bearing such characteristics as high temperature, high pressure, inflammability, susceptibility to explosion and pollution. It involves highly sophisticated technology and high technical standards, and quality must be strictly guaranteed for all of its segments. Under such circumstances, it is even more imperative to depend on a high level of consciousness of the broad masses. We can achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results only if we rely on the masses to launch a mass movement in a big way, so that everyone will attach importance to the quality of the project and set strict demands on every single aspect of work. During the construction of the Chinshanproject, the workers, who strove energetically to do every piece of work well and insure quality, put forward the slogan: "Learn from the workers of Tach'ing, carry out construction work with great care and set strict demands on ourselves consciously." Take the welding and installation of steel spherical tanks for example. Such tanks are used to store all kinds of liquified gas. They number altogether 33, large and small. The largest one is 5-6 stories high, made up of 66 high-intensity arch-shape steel plates welded together under very strict requirements. If welding in one section went wrong, the tank would explode. In foreign countries, workers welding such spherical tanks must have more than six years of welding experience and have to pass

special tests. Welders at our worksite are already inadequate. If welders had to be selected according to foreign standards, work would be suspended. What could we do then? We mobilized and relied on the masses in launching a mass movement to conquer this technical snag. Responsible for welding the largest tank at the worksite, Shanghai No. 2 Welding Factory has only some 200 workers. It selected 36 welders and formed them into a fighting team. Apart from 6 veteran welders, the rest were young workers in their twenties. Women workers accounted for half. Some were apprentices not yet serving their term. However, they said proudly: "The tank is big, but not bigger than our zeal. The steel is hard, but not harder than our will." To weld each seam well, they studied and worked hard. Many had their clothes burned, their faces blackened and their hands blistered. But none complained at all. As some seams were rather long, continuous overhead welding had to be done in order to reach the quality standard prescribed. They brought along their food packs, so they could have a few bites in mid-air. They would not get down until their job was finished. After 180 days of hard struggle, they finally accomplished this task victoriously, fulfilling all the quality requirements.

There was also the problem of how to correctly give full scope to the role of technicians. As we understand it, in launching a large-scale mass movement, we should also bring the role of technicians into full play so as to closely link them with the masses. To construct such a gigantic modern project as Chinshan, it is necessary to have specialized technical knowledge and to give full scope to the role of engineers and technicians with this know how and respect their opinions and proposals. But in doing any kind of work or tackling some complicated technical problems, it is essential to extensively mobilize the broad masses to expose and analyze contradictions in all aspects before the best solutions can be found from practice. The Chinshan project has a total of more than 300 huge pieces of equipment, the heaviest one over 200 tons in weight, the longest one 60 meters in length, the biggest one more than 6 diameters. How to transport these huge pieces to the worksite indeed posed considerable difficulties. If they were transported by highway, the 19 bridges along the way would have to be strengthened, a proposal economically unjustified and time consuming. If there were carried by sea, there were no docks along the coast of Chinshan. If they were carried by barges along the inland rivers, the passage way was too narrow and the bridge archs were too low. What should be done? With the support of concerned municipal departments, we held a meeting attended by various units in the communications and transportation system, and explained the significance of the project and the difficulties involved to the masses. Once the masses were mobilized, there was a way. It was the raft transport workers, formerly called "raft heads" or "raft beggars" in the old society, who creatively proposed to solve this knotty problem by using the wooden raft--an ancient means of transport in our country. More than 150 raft workers from the southern part of Shanghai city proper and Ch'uansha county pooling their efforts together, drew up 50 different kinds of blueprints in 3-4 days. After analyzing and comparing them and on the basis of requirements for the transport of large equipment of different shapes, they designed a variety of wooden rafts and used them to transport these gigantic pieces of equipment to the worksite speedily and in sound condition.

It is only when technicians combine their efforts with those of the masses of workers and peasants that theory and practice can be better integrated and contributions made to socialist construction. A ten-thousand ton oil terminal had to be built for the Chinshan project. At first, some people didn't think it was possible to build such a terminal because the wind, waves and tides in that area were too strong. Could it be built after all? The researchers and technicians of the Communications Ministry's Third Navigational Engineering Bureau, the Shanghai Port Service Bureau and the Shanghai Teacher Training College, being responsible for surveying and designing, conducted a three-month on-the-spot investigation in the Ch'enshan region, during which they visited many poor and lower-middle peasants and old fishermen. For twelve days and nights they made observations on board ships with local fishermen and dock builders during the typhoon season. Finally, they succeeded in getting a clear picture of the natural conditions of the Ch'enshan coastal region, mastered the laws of local hydrological and meteorological changes during the stormy seasons, and came to the conclusion that it was possible to build a deep-water wharf in the Ch'enshan coastal region. After more than a year of hard struggle, the Ch'enshan wharf was completed one year ahead of schedule. Today it has started taking oil from tankers. Deeply impressed, the technicians say: "Sitting in the office, one lives in a small world. Working with the worker masses, one lives in a vast world with great possibilities."

In launching a mass movement on a large scale, we must strengthen leadership. The greater the scale of the mass movement, the higher the demands set on the art of leadership and organization work. In building an enterprise such as the Chinshan project, we can develop the mass movement in a penetrating and sustained manner only if we strengthen centralized and unified leadership.

There are 46 large and small projects at Chinshan with up to a hundred units taking part in planning, designing and construction and workers coming from all parts of the country. For this reason, it is essential to have overall planning and rational organization so as to muster all the forces to assure a high speed for the construction of the project. We set up three-in-one command groups of planning, construction and designing for construction projects and main production installations at the worksite. In respect to supplies, material supply departments in the city are linked up with material supply departments at the worksite, and joint offices are set up. This has resulted in simpler administration, higher efficiency, and doing away with overlapping, complicated procedures, and mutual procrastination. At the same time, we emphasize the need for command units at all levels to intensify investigation and research at each stage of the project so as to be able to have a good grasp of the whole situation, make proper arrangements, and organize and allocate the forces of various quarters prior to construction and installation for each project. Meanwhile, on the basis of investigation and research, and in accordance with the requirements of the overall construction progress as well as the main direction of attack at each stage, we concentrate superior forces in a planned and systematic manner to fight a battle of annihilation.

The basic problem in strengthening leadership lies in strengthening ideological leadership. A construction army of several tens of thousands

requires unified command, unified steps and unified actions. So, the first thing to do is to unify thinking. A large number of units and departments work at the worksite. At one time each of them wanted to finish its own task first and as quickly as possible. Under such circumstances, it is especially important to strengthen unified leadership. If not, with each blowing his own horn and singing his own tune, there will be nothing but confusion. While organizing the masses to stage a joint campaign, we asked one and all to study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, actively guiding everyone to display the communist style of "thinking of the whole, feeling anxious for the whole, and doing everything for the whole," to reject and overcome all sorts of departmentalism and cliquism, and to arrange work for one's unit in accordance with the objective of the overall construction progress. As a result, a lively situation of "everyone moving in the same chessboard, the Dragon River flowers blooming everywhere" appeared at the whole worksite. The comrade workers said rightly: "You have your home, I have mine, but we can't separate in making revolution." "You have your needs, I have mine, but the greatest need is to submit to the whole." All this shows vividly the importance of strengthening leadership. With ideological leadership strengthened, revisionism continuously criticized, and mutual relations among people adjusted, it is possible to insure the vigorous development of the mass movement from beginning to end.

Great achievements have been made in the Chinshan project. But the project is still under construction and many arduous struggles still lie ahead. We must continue to raise our consciousness of carrying out the Party's basic line, strive to master the theory of proletarian dictatorship, further mobilize and depend on the masses, fight one battle at a time, and accomplish this glorious and formidable task of building the Chinshan project with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

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Strive for Better Results in Capital Construction

by

Yao Shang (姚尚)

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How can we do well in capital construction? This is a vital question in socialist construction. Capital construction is an important means for enlarging socialist reproduction and promoting the development of the national economy. We have gained remarkable achievements in this respect. But more efforts are required. Capital construction has a direct bearing on setting up an independent and relatively complete industrial system and achieving modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology. Carrying out capital construction with greater, faster, better and more economical results is conducive to stepping up the tempo of building socialism, to further strengthening the material base of proletarian dictatorship, and to better implementing the great strategic policies "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people" and "dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony." The cadres and the masses on the capital construction front must fully understand their own glorious responsibility, set up lofty ambitions, grasp revolution, promote production, and strive to carry out capital construction with still better results.

Experiences, both positive and negative, tell us that to carry out capital construction successfully, the most fundamental need is to conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Whenever we act on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses can be fully aroused. We will be able to fight in unity, develop the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, adhere to the policy of concentrating a superior force for a battle of annihilation, and carry out the work of capital construction with vigor and greater, faster, better and more economical results. For the past twenty years we have been able to victoriously complete a large number of modern factories, mines, oil fields, power stations, communications and transportation facilities and the "five small" industries across the urban and rural areas of the country because cadres and the masses have removed the interference and sabotage by the erroneous line and adhered to the revolutionary line and a series of principles and policies laid down by Chairman Mao for our Party. If we are to do even better in capital construction, we must bear in mind this basic experience.

The Party's basic line tells us that throughout the historical period of socialism, there is the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. This struggle will inevitably be reflected on the capital construction front. The state annually pours a large amount of funds into capital construction. How should these funds be used? There is a force of several million strong engaged in surveying, designing, scientific research and construction. How can this force be led? What is the principle we should apply in handling the relationships among various enterprises and between enterprises

owned by the whole people and those under collective ownership as well as between construction enterprises and other business undertakings? Will it be necessary to restrict bourgeois rights in these respects? And so on and so forth. In all this, there is a question of orientation and road, a question of what line to follow. As capital construction work is in many ways related to various fronts and fields, whether or not to adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line not only has a bearing on what road capital construction departments should take, but will produce a considerable influence on other departments as well. At present, while studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, we must investigate and study things conscientiously, sum up experience in light of reality, and adjust the ideological and political line correctly. Only thus will we not lose our bearings and take the wrong road when undertaking a capital construction project; only thus can we develop capital construction with greater, better, faster and more economical results.

To stick to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on the capital construction front we must pay constant attention to studying the question in respect to the relations of production and must positively and prudently restrict bourgeois rights in this connection. Chairman Mao points out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Although building materials, equipment and construction forces required for capital construction are mainly distributed and allocated by the state according to a unified plan, still a considerable part is purchased from the market or supplied by units under collective ownership. In the course of carrying out capital construction, it is necessary to carry out frequent exchanges of commodities with many departments of the national economy, including units under whole-people ownership and those under collective ownership. Class and line struggles on the capital construction front are closely related to the existence of the commodity system. In capital construction, as regards arranging plans and examining proposals or solving problems in respect to materials, equipment and construction forces, we should firmly place proletarian politics in command and fully consider whether what we do is conducive to restricting bourgeois rights, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and building socialism.

Basically, to encourage placing proletarian politics in command in capital construction work and paying attention to restricting bourgeois rights is consistent with carrying out capital construction with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Developing capital construction, as developing other socialist undertakings, is, in the final analysis, to create conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new one to arise. If we set our sight only on our own capital construction projects and grab materials and construction forces available without looking at problems from the political and overall point of view and without considering whether what we do is consistent with socialist principles, we will deviate from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and basically go against the demand for achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. Materials, equipment and

construction forces are vital factors for capital construction, and of course must be made available. However, it is necessary to uphold socialist principles. When the state draws the principal means of production and consumption into channels of unified distribution and planned supply, the purpose is not only to "develop the economy and insure supplies" but also to restrict bourgeois rights, and this precisely is a manifestation of the superiority of socialist planned economy. If we grab the building materials and construction forces without regard to policies and in a reckless manner, if we privately contract for capital construction projects, or in the name of cooperation, barter away materials centrally allocated by the state and shift things from the distribution channel to the circulation channel, we will depart from socialist principles and extend bourgeois rights. In this way, not only will it be impossible to do well in capital construction, but it will so satisfy the needs of the spontaneous forces of capitalism that local building materials and the labor power of units under collective ownership in town and countryside will flow blindly, thereby encouraging the tendency to "stress subsidiary occupations at the expense of agriculture" and distribute labor power freely and other wrong tencencies in the countryside and even creating opportunities for new and old bourgeois elements.

Following the rapid development of socialist construction, some places are faced with a shortage of building materials and construction forces. Under the socialist system, such a contradiction between social production and social needs should and can be adjusted through state planning. Actually, judging by the present state of the capital construction front as a whole, our construction forces are not small and there are potentials to be tapped in materials and equipment. The key lies in strengthening leadership and doing work well. Some places find themselves in a temporary passive position largely because they do not have the correct line, do not work well and do not dare to uphold correct principles or stop incorrect ways of doing things. The experiences of not a few places show that so long as we firmly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, dare to fight erroneous tendencies, proceed from the overall situation, and make unified plans and arrangements to assure key projects, and so long as we constantly conduct education in ideology and the political line, fully arouse the socialist enthusiasm of workers, continue to improve business management and energetically raise labor efficiency, then it is entirely possible to undertake more construction tasks with existing manpower and material resources.

Sticking to the policy of concentrating a superior force for a battle of annihilation is also an important aspect of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on the capital construction front. By sticking to this policy, it is possible to give full scope to the role of existing manpower, material resources and finance, both to meet the demand for greater, faster, better and more economical results and to restrict and criticize bourgeois tendencies. When we make concentrated use of manpower and material resources in the light of needs and possibilities and on the basis of reality, we can build capital construction projects

on a reliable material foundation and obtain promptly from the channel of planning the needed materials, equipment and construction forces for every project that has to be started and completed speedily. If the scale is too large, the line is over-extended, and the forces are scattered, not only is it impossible to achieve quick results as desired and to complete a project speedily, but contradictions will be created between supply and demand in respect to manpower, material resources and finance, giving an opportunity for capitalist activities. We must recognize the importance of sticking to this policy of concentrating a superior force for fighting a battle of annihilation and carry it out conscientiously and earnestly on the plane of the two-line struggle and of consolidating proletarian dictatorship.

Chairman Mao has said: "In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy forces can only be destroyed one by one. Factories can only be built one by one. The peasants can only plough the land plot by plot. The same is even true of eating a meal. Strategically, we take the eating of a meal lightly for we know we can finish it. But actually we eat it mouthful by mouthful. It is impossible to swallow an entire banquet in one gulp. This is known as a piecemeal solution. In military parlance, it is called wiping out the enemy forces one by one." This truth likewise applies to capital construction. Strategically, we must and can make a success of capital construction on all fronts and in all fields, but specifically we can only build projects one by one. As in war, capital construction cannot be carried out in isolation and must have the cooperation of various quarters. In light of needs and possibilities and on the basis of priority, we should get hold of the key projects bearing on the overall situation and the weak segments of the national economy, centralize the manpower and material resources, and undertake projects one by one or group by group in a planned and systematic manner. It is only in this way that we can gain the initiative in construction, quickly increase the return on investment, and effectively promote the development of the national economy as a whole. It is not only impossible but also harmful to try to complete all projects at once without regard to conditions. It is not enough to have good desires alone. It is impossible to take a whole dinner in one gulp. Many events show that if we concentrate a superior force to fight a battle of annihilation, we will be able to get greater, faster, better and more economical results, but that if we disperse the forces to fight a war of attrition, there will only be less, slower, poorer and more expensive results.

In order to carry out the policy of concentrating a superior force to fight a battle of annihilation, it is necessary to encourage the idea of taking the overall situation into account. "It appears easy to concentrate a superior force, but it is actually quite difficult to do so." Reflected on the capital construction front, the difficulty lies in the fact that some comrades do not take the overall situation into account. Proceeding from partial interests, inappropriately stressing the importance of construction in their own departments or areas, they always want to have more investment funds and build more projects, going so far as to build projects outside their plans and erect buildings, halls, auditoria and offices without authorization and without regard to state unified plans.

Or else they pay no attention to the key projects in their own areas or departments but want to do everything at once and at the same pace. This shows their lacking an understanding of the overall situation. Chairman Mao has said: "Communists must grasp the principle of subordinating the needs of the part to the needs of the whole. If a proposal appears feasible for a partial situation but not for the situation as a whole, then the part must give way to the whole. Conversely, if the proposal is not feasible for the part but is feasible in the light of the situation as a whole, again the part must give way to the whole. This is the concept of taking the whole into account." Proceeding from the overall situation, we should seriously examine the capital construction in our areas or departments to see if the demand for concentrating a superior force to fight a battle of annihilation is met, if the line is over-extended, if the orientation of the main attack is correct, and if key projects are assured of the needed manpower, material resources and finance. We must make up our minds to avoid the wrong method of over-extending the line and dispersing the forces to fight a war of attrition. In the interest of the overall situation, we should do what must be done now, delay what can be postponed, and concentrate forces in the key areas and fight a battle of annihilation with real success.

Chairman Mao points out: "In doing everything a mass movement is necessary, for without it nothing can be accomplished." To develop capital construction with greater, faster, better and more economical results along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, it is necessary to boldly mobilize the masses and unfold a large-scale mass movement. This is as essential to the construction in one area or one department as it is to the construction of one project. The reason why the construction of Shanghai General Petrochemical Plant has yielded greater, faster, better and more economical results is that the Party organizations at all levels in Shanghai have followed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and, in light of their own concrete conditions, fully aroused the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses. By virtue of extensive political mobilization, they made the people of the whole municipality know the vital significance of this project, so that everyone is interested in it and strives to contribute to it. Moreover, socialist cooperation has been organized on all fronts and among all units to fight a joint battle. Many such facts show that when the masses are well mobilized and the tasks of construction as well as the reasons and methods for doing them are clearly explained to the masses, then they will pull their strength together and do them with one burst of effort.

Giving full play to the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses is the source of strength for maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts. In capital construction, we must persist in relying on the masses and on our efforts, regardless of whether the project is a big or small one and whether it is a project for which we have to make our own equipment or one for which we have to import equipment. It is wrong to think that we give up self-reliance if we have to import equipment for a project. Importing equipment is for the purpose of assimilating advanced foreign technology, of "making foreign things serve China," and of developing our own science and technology. This presupposes that in all construction projects, if we can produce the needed equipment, we must do so. In regard to technology, we must adopt

a practical scientific attitude. Not only must we modestly learn from the strong points of others, but we must also pay attention to summing up our good experiences, so that foreign things may really serve us. It is impossible to do all of this without the wisdom and strength of the broad masses. Only by insisting on "from the masses and back to the masses" and mobilizing the people to think out ideas and methods and make the decisions can we truly rest on the basis of our own strength and take our own road of industrial development.

To continue to break down the contract system and positively encourage all to take a hand in the task on the capital construction front is conducive to arousing the enthusiasm of all quarters. The contract system onesidedly stresses the mutual restraint among designing, operating and construction units, in effect turning the relationship of division of work and cooperation among socialist enterprises into one of buyer and seller between capitalist enterprises. As early as 1958, the broad masses of Chinese workers criticized it and created the method of extensive coordination. Chairman Mao pointed out then: "The method of extensive coordination in capital construction is good." Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, the experiences of many places have proved that the method of extensive coordination can, under the centralized leadership of the Party, make for centralized allocation and adjustment from capital to equipment and from building materials to construction forces, and this is conducive not only to unity and cooperation and mutual coordination among all quarters, concentrating a superior force to fight a battle of annihilation and producing greater, faster, better and more economical results, but also to restricting bourgeois rights and checking capitalist tendencies. We must mobilize the masses to go on criticizing such old things as the contract system and actively popularize such new things as extensive coordination. If the rules and regulations covering all aspects from planned management to material supply, from political-ideological work to economic accounting, and from designing to construction are rational, they must be strictly enforced. If they are not, we must mobilize the masses to discuss them fully and reform them resolutely, and gradually institute and strengthen a set of rules and regulations conducive to grasping revolution and promoting production. We are convinced that provided that the leadership at all levels conscientiously study and practice the theory of proletarian dictatorship and boldly mobilize the masses to apply themselves to work under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, it is certainly possible to gain still greater results in capital construction.

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The Battle Against Natural Disasters Makes Us Strong

by

Party Branch of New Hoyai Production Brigade,
Chuch'eng County, Shantung

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Aug. 28, 1975)

Formerly our brigade wasn't called New Hoyai. It was called Huichiahoyai. In mid-August last year, our village was hit by a most devastating flood, which submerged the fields and tore down most of the houses. Under the leadership and concern of the higher Party committee, the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members, united in struggle and relying on their strength, re-built their homes. With great pride, they said: "The flood destroyed the old Hoyai, but the struggle against the natural calamity brought us a new Hoyai." So, they changed the name of the brigade to New Hoyai. This year, our average per-mow wheat yield reached 564 catties, surpassing the "Program" target in one quarter. We sold to the state 110,000 catties, a figure 50 percent higher than the annual quota of sales.

New Hoyai! What great tempering we got from the struggle against the flood that year! It made us deeply understand that we must never be afraid of dealing with natural calamities as we must never be afraid of dealing all other difficulties. As long as we firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, stick to the socialist road, and develop the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle, we can overcome any natural calamity and difficulty.

Last fall, there was a bumper-harvest scene in the fields on the slopes of the brigade. But on August 13 a violent rainstorm suddenly struck. The rivers and streams around the village overflowed, and on the flatland the water was over two meters deep. More than 500 mow of cropland was submerged. Out of 583 houses in the brigade, 557 collapsed. The collective and commune members lost more than 439,000 catties of grain, while production tools and articles of daily use belonging to the commune members were either swept away or damaged by the flood. In face of such a scene, some people were so depressed that they dared not raise their heads. They said: "Many years of blood and sweat was washed away. When can we regain what we have?"

It is difficult to keep some people from exaggerating the difficulties. who can say that this flood wasn't severe? But man will conquer nature--a truth we should firmly believe under the socialist system. Most of the Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants were not frightened, they displayed the dauntless revolutionary spirit and the communist style of self-sacrifice for others in the struggle against the flood. Confronting our Party branch was the task of how to correctly analyze and understand the difficulties and to lead the masses to overcome the disaster. This wasan acid test to us all.

Chairman Mao has said: "In times of difficulty, our comrades must not lose sight of the achievements, they must see the bright future ahead and pluck up their courage." After the flood, together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, members of our Party branch repeatedly studied this teaching of Chairman Mao's, which greatly warmed our hearts. In accordance with this teaching, we carefully analyzed the difficulties caused by the calamity and the favorable conditions for overcoming them.

First, we had firm Party leadership and the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was a basic guarantee in overcoming the difficulties. When we were surrounded by the flood waters, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee immediately despatched planes to drop large quantities of cooked food and relief materials. Leading comrades at all levels rushed over through mud and water to join us in the fight against the flood. Our kith-and-kin Liberation Army sent us a medical team; comrade workers from many factories as well as poor and lower-middle peasants from fraternal communes and brigades also rushed to our aid from all directions. There was not only huge assistance in materials, what was even more important was that there was the concern of the Party and the warmth of class friendship, adding to our infinite spiritual strength to cope with the flood.

Second, although the natural calamity was severe, it was after all temporary and localized. 500 mow of cropland was inundated. While 240 mow of this yielded nothing, the remaining 250-odd mow could still yield something. Part of the ripened early-autumn crops could be salvaged, and a good harvest could still be expected from 200 mow of late-autumn crops after measures to boost yield were taken following the flood. Moreover, by making every effort to plant wheat well, we could lay a foundation for the following year's bumper harvest. The houses collapsed, but part of the materials still remained and could be used to build sheds for temporary shelter.

Third, the flood water swept away houses and property, but it could never sweep away the determination of the poor and lower-middle peasants to follow Chairman Mao to take the socialist road. While material conditions are important, they are not the decisive factor. The decisive factor is man. We firmly believe that the Party members and masses, having been steeled through the great proletariat cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin and Confucius, can conquer natural calamities. This is where the basic strength to overcome difficulties lies. In a word, when there are difficulties, there is a way out. All pessimistic sentiments and statements are groundless.

We gave further publicity to this analysis and understanding among all Party members and the masses, so they could find out the advantageous conditions for overcoming the difficulties, recognize their own strength, see the bright prospects ahead, increase their confidence and courage to beat the difficulties, and more actively plunge into the struggle against the natural calamity and to win a bumper harvest.

Just as we led the masses to struggle against the natural calamity, a small handful of class enemies sprang into action and began to make trouble. They spread the Confucian-Mencian doctrine of "Heavenly mandate," saying nonsensically: "Fate dictates that we have to suffer a little." And they tried to scare the masses by saying: "This year is a year of great calamity, more serious calamities and hardships still lie ahead." They carried out subversive activities everywhere. Some people seriously affected by capitalist tendencies wanted to go their own ways and said, "We are like old oxen crossing the river. Let each head for his own destination." This caused us to become sharply aware of the fact that the struggle against natural calamities is not merely a struggle against nature, but also a political and ideological struggle between two classes and two roads. Tit for tat, we must first grasp class struggle well and persist in the socialist direction before we can arouse among people the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle and win the victory in the struggle against natural calamities.

In view of the class enemy's sabotage and capitalist thoughts entertained by some people, we organized the masses to studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, to recall the bitter past and think of the sweet present, to unfold mass revolutionary criticism and, above all, to deeply criticize the "theory of Heavenly mandate" advocated by Lin Piao and Confucius. The poor and lower-middle peasants, hitting the nail on the head, pointed out: the "theory of Heavenly mandate" was just a spiritual shackle. Over the ages, the exploiting classes used to blame the natural calamities on the bad fate of the laboring people and on their offending "Heaven," their wicked aim being to turn us into slaves of nature to be ordered around. Some old poor peasants compared the flood with one that occurred 60 years ago. The latter was much less serious, but as the reactionary ruling class did not care for the lives of the people but took the opportunity to blackmail and extort them, 35 out of the 50 households were forced to leave. There were 13 broken homes, 49 people of 240 in the village died. This formed a sharp contrast to the incomparable concern we are getting from the Party and government today. Were we poor and lower-middle peasants bound to suffer then? "Heavenly mandate" is sheer devil's talk. In addition, we organized the masses to sum up the experiences and lessons from two struggles waged against natural calamities in 1962 and 1971. In 1962, after the flood, influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, some people just thought of themselves and disregarded the collective. As a result, they failed to drain off the accumulated water in the fields in good time and a small natural calamity become a major one. In 1971, the situation was different. The Party branch led the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants to fully develop the collective strength. Working night and day, they quickly drained off the accumulated water. This was immediately followed by measures to increase production. As a result, a year of natural calamity turned into a year of bumper harvest, per-mow grain yield rose by nearly 100 catties over 1970, exceeding the "Program" target. These facts gave everyone a profound lesson, and the commune members said: "Socialism is our prop, the collective strength knows no bounds." As long as we constantly persist in taking the socialist road and closely rely on the collective strength, there is no difficulty that cannot be overcome.

Persisting in the principle of self-reliance is the way to give full scope to the collective economic strength in grappling with natural calamities. Aid from the state and fraternal communes and brigades is an important condition for beating the natural calamities, and we attach great value to such aid. But only when we help ourselves can we make more effective use of other's help. Without the spirit of self-reliance, even if we have more help, we can't make full use of it. So, during the struggle against the natural calamity, we raised the slogan, "Where we can work, we don't need other's support." After the flood, through two days and nights of hard struggle, we erected 120 shacks, solving the problem of temporary shelter for the entire village. On the sixth day after the flood, the village began to cook its own meals, and there was no need for the state to supply it with cooked food. In the fields from which the flood water had just receded, the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members dug drainage ditches, adjusted the 100-odd mow of maize and kaoliang plants which lodged under the flood water, removed the earth that had been deposited on the top of the 100-odd mow of melons, and tended them intensively. During the crash planting of wheat, 40,000-50,000 cartloads of manure had to be transported to the fields. However, the brigade had only three small rubber-tire carts. What to do? Someone thought of asking for the state's help, but the majority of the masses didn't agree. They said: the state has already given us great help, and we can't ask it for more. On their initiative, the women took over the task of carrying the manure to the fields. With shoulder poles and baskets, they worked day and night and completed the task in half a month. Meanwhile, we also handed over to the commune all the tools, chemical fertilizer, seeds, cement, medicine, etc., received from the various units and the People's Liberation Army for centralized distribution to the various flood-stricken units. As our brigade wasn't the only one hit by the flood, we ought to let our class brothers of other brigades get more help.

Chairman Mao points out: "Under certain conditions, bad things can produce good results." Through this struggle against the flood, we came to further understand this truth. Here, the most fundamental prerequisite is to rely on the masses to achieve rejuvenation under the leadership of the Party. This is what we have done, and with good results.

The struggle against the natural calamity brought about a bumper harvest. In 1974, amid struggle against the natural calamity, we gained a grain yield of 475 catties per mow. Apart from keeping a sufficient amount of grain for seeds and consumption by commune members, we sold the state 28,000 catties. Thus we were still able to make our contribution to the state in spite of a year of serious flood. This spring, through studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, the masses of commune members showed even greater revolutionary zeal, and we put forward the slogan: "Be firmer in face of severe calamities and surpass 'Program' targets." The "Program" target for wheat was overfulfilled. At present, the autumn crops are growing more luxuriantly than any previous year. The commune members, full of confidence, say: The serious natural calamity made us work harder, and harder work brought about great changes.

The struggle against natural calamities has created a new village. The flood destroyed the old houses. We chose a site on a higher ground and collectively built 417 houses according to a unified plan. Now, new houses line the well-paved roads, and a new atmsophere is evident.

The struggle also produced new ideas. Both production and living conditions have changed vastly. But the greatest change of all is in people's mentality. The struggle has tempered our leading group, the Party members and the masses. The aid we received from all directions in the fight against the flood helped broaden our vision, making us see that although our brigade is small, it is closely linked with our great socialist mother country. Everyone shows a greater love for the socialist system, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the collective--the people's commune. At the same time, we also accumulated experience in struggle against natural disasters.

We have gained a victory in the struggle against the natural calamity, but on the road of advance, we will still meet with all kinds of difficulties and setbacks. Many years of practice tells us that farm production always advances through continuous triumph over natural disasters, which are unavoidable. We are determined to develop in depth the three great revolutionary movements under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and firmly carry out the policy of self-reliance. We believe that with this mental preparedness, no difficulty can overwhelm but can only be overwhelmed by us.

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